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TABLE

THE UNITED STATES

1877

1878

1879

1880

1881

1882

1883

THE  
ANNUAL  
BIOGRAPHY AND OBITUARY,  
FOR THE YEAR  
1820.

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VOL. IV.

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*LONDON:*

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## PREFACE.

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THE year 1820, has ushered in a new volume, being the Fourth of the ANNUAL BIOGRAPHY and OBITUARY. The Editor is not unwilling to assume some trifling credit, in consequence of an early and regular publication; but for all that is curious, interesting, or original, in the present work, the Reader is wholly indebted to the assistance, correspondence, and communications of others. Some elucidations on this subject, may not prove altogether unworthy of attention.

The Memoir of the greatest female singer\* this country has ever produced, is drawn up with the most scrupulous attention to delicacy and decorum. It was composed by a gentleman, who both knew and admired her in the character of a *professional woman*, and he has been kindly and readily assisted with the most correct information on the part of one of her surviving trustees.

\* Mrs. Billington.

The life of the Anglo-American Colonel Tatham, will be found replete with incident and misfortunes : it is to the full as singular as that of Mr. Harriott in the preceding volume.

The biography of a late Knight of the Bath \*, to whom the Letters of Junius have been recently ascribed, with a hardihood that at least challenges investigation, contains, what he himself was accustomed to term “ Notes for History,” most of which have been obtained from personal communication.

We have prevailed on a gentleman, perhaps the only one in the kingdom, who had inclination and opportunities to execute such a task—to draw up an account of a celebrated character†, who, after expending upwards of 100,000*l.* in objects of *vertù*, lately died in a jail! By such as knew him, this article will be deemed at once curious, interesting, and original: indeed, like some fine specimens of his own shells, it must be termed *unique*, as no other similar collection of facts is in existence.

The Memoirs of a late celebrated poet‡, are drawn up by two of his friends. The one part, which is chiefly dedicated to the consideration of his early life, appears to have been compiled both from oral communication, and documents furnished by himself. The supplement, written by a gentle-

\* Sir Philip Francis. † H. C. Jennings, Esq. ‡ Dr. Wolcot.



man who holds a very respectable situation in one of the public offices, while it rectifies some errors respecting his family, details a variety of curious particulars connected with the latter portion of his life. Had it been received sooner, more justice would have been done to an article, which, in its original form, must have merited a double portion of praise. The whole, taken together, will, perhaps, be found to constitute one of the completest specimens of biography, lately submitted to the notice of the Public. A short but authentic life of the late James Watt, F. R. S. cannot fail to attract attention. It has been sanctioned by the approbation of those to whom his memory and reputation are peculiarly dear.

At a time, when the penal statutes are thought by some to stand in need of revision, and the condition of the *criminal poor*, has become a subject of frequent debate and investigation in both Houses of Parliament, the documents contained in the memoirs of the late \* Inspector-General of convicts, cannot fail to prove worthy of attention. The rules laid down by him being the result of long experience both by sea and land, are well calculated to afford useful hints to such benevolent legislators as are occupied about meliorating the condition of those confined on board of hulks, conveyed to distant settlements by means of transports, or doomed to spend a large portion of their lives in Penitentiary

\* Aaron Graham, Esq.

Houses. It is greatly to be lamented, that we have been unable to include many celebrated characters within the limits of the present volume. Among some others that excite our regret, are the Father of the English Bar\* ; the venerable and learned Dean of Christ Church ; and a nobleman, whose name is connected with the Agriculture of this country, in all its various branches, having not only devoted the greater part of his life to husbandry, experimental and practical, but to the improvement of our various breeds of cattle, both native and foreign. Of all these, memoirs shall appear in our next volume.

\* Sir Arthur Pigot, late Attorney-General.

# CONTENTS.

---

## PART I.

### MEMOIRS OF CELEBRATED MEN WHO HAVE DIED IN 1818 — 1819.

	Page
1. <i>Admiral Sir Robert Calder, K. B. and Bart.</i>	1
2. <i>Mr. Alderman Combe</i>	20
3. <i>Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.</i>	34
4. <i>John Palmer, Esq.</i>	65
5. <i>Patrick Brydone, Esq.</i>	85
6. <i>George Wilson Meadley, Esq.</i>	112
7. <i>Mrs. Billington</i>	138
8. <i>Colonel Tatham</i>	149
9. <i>Sir Philip Francis, K. B.</i>	169
10. <i>Major Scott Waring, Ex M. P.</i>	235
11. <i>Dr. Wolcot, (Peter Pindar)</i>	263
12. <i>Henry Constantine Jennings, Esq. the celebrated Anti- quary</i>	326
13. <i>Professor Playfair</i>	371
14. <i>James Watt, Esq.</i>	391
15. <i>Sir Henry Tempest, Bart.</i>	400
16. <i>Aaron Graham, Esq.</i>	402

## PART II.

### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES AND NEGLECTED BIOGRAPHY.

1. <i>His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam</i>	423
2. <i>Samuel Lysons, Esq. F. R. S. F. A. S.</i>	424

	Page
3. <i>James Forbes, Esq. F. R. S. F. A. S.</i> - - -	425
4. <i>Henry P. Wyndham, Esq.</i> - - - - -	427
5. <i>Lord Bishop of Peterborough</i> - - - - -	428
6. <i>Right Hon. Lord Walsingham</i> - - - - -	434

### PART III.

#### ANALYSIS OF RECENT BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

1. <i>Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough, &amp;c. &amp;c. By Mr. Archdeacon Coxe</i> - - - - -	437
2. <i>Letters from the Abbé Edgeworth to his friends, with Memoirs of his Life, including some Account of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, Dr. Moylan, and Letters to him from the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, and other persons of distinction. — By the Rev. Thomas R. England</i> - - - - -	448
3. <i>Memoirs of George Hardinge, Esq. M. A. F. S. A. Senior Justice of Brecon, Glamorgan, and Radnor</i>	450

### PART IV.

<i>A general Biographical List of persons who have died in 1819.</i> - - - - -	454
--	-----

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Page.	Born.	Died.
Admiral Sir Robert Calder, K. B. and Bart.	1	1745	1818
Mr. Alderman Combe - - -	20	1752	1818
Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart. - - -	34	1757	1818
John Palmer, Esq. - - - - -	65	1742	1818
Patrick Brydone, Esq. - - - - -	85	1741	1818
George Wilson Meadley, Esq. - - -	112	1774	1818
Mrs. Billington, ( <i>Madame de Felessent</i> ) -	138	1769	1818
Colonel Tatham - - - - -	149	1752	1819
Sir Philip Francis, K. B. - - - - -	169	1740	1819
Major Scott Waring, <i>Ex M. P.</i> - - -	235	1737	1819
Dr. Wolcot, ( <i>Peter Pindar</i> ) - - - - -	263	1738	1819
Henry Constantine Jennings, Esq. the } Antiquary - - - - -	326	1761	1819
Professor Playfair - - - - -	371	1749	1819
James Watt, Esq. - - - - -	391	1735	1819
Sir Henry Tempest, Bt. - - - - -	400	1752	1819
Aaron Graham, Esq. - - - - -	402	1753	1818
<b>NEGLECTED BIOGRAPHY.</b>			
Abp. of Tuam - - - - -	423	1743	1819
Samuel Lysons, Esq. - - - - -	424	1763	1819
James Forbes, Esq. - - - - -	425	1749	1819
H. P. Wyndham - - - - -	427	1736	1819
Lord Bishop of Peterborough - - -	428	1761	1819
Right Hon. Lord Walsingham - - -	434	1748	1818

## ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

---

	Page
<b>B</b> ILLINGTON, Mrs. - - - - -	138
Brydone, Patrick, Esq. - - - - -	85
Calder, Admiral Sir Robert, K. B. and Bart. - - -	1
Combe, Mr. Alderman - - - - -	20
Forbes, James, Esq. F. R. S. F. A. S. - - -	425
Francis, Sir Philip, K. B. - - - - -	169
Graham, Aaron, Esq. - - - - -	402
Jennings, Henry Constantine, Esq. the celebrated An- tiquary - - - - -	326
Lysons, Samuel, Esq. F. R. S. F. A. S. - - -	424
Meadley, George Wilson, Esq. - - - - -	112
Musgrave, Sir Richard, Bart. - - - - -	34
Palmer John, Esq. - - - - -	65
Peterborough, Lord Bp. of - - - - -	428
Playfair, Professor - - - - -	371
Scot Waring, Major, Ex M. P. - - - - -	235
Tatham, Colonel - - - - -	149
Tempest, Sir Henry, Bart. - - - - -	400
Tuam, His Grace the Abp. of - - - - -	423
Walsingham, Lord - - - - -	434
Watt, James, Esq. - - - - -	391
Wolcot, Dr. (Peter Pindar) - - - - -	263
Wyndham, Henry P. Esq. - - - - -	427



THE  
ANNUAL  
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OF  
1819.

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PART I.

*MEMOIRS OF CELEBRATED MEN, WHO HAVE  
DIED WITHIN THE YEARS 1818-1819.*

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No. I.



ADMIRAL SIR ROBERT CALDER, KNT. AND BART.  
OF SOUTHWICK, IN THE COUNTY OF HANTS.

THE Calders of Muirtown, in the county of Moray, North-Britain, can boast of considerable antiquity on the score of descent. We are told by Shaw, in his History of Moray (4to. p. 113.) that the "surname is local, and that the family has been among the most ancient, and the most considerable in the North. About the year 1040," continues he, "the tyrant

Macbeth cut off the Thane of Nairn (Buchan.) This, no doubt, was the Thane of Calder; for no history or tradition mentioneth a Thane of Nairn, distinct from the Thane of Calder, who as constable resided in that town; and Mr. Heylin, in his Geography, expressly calleth him Thane of Calder." We learn that William, Thane of Calder, in 1450, built the tower of Calder by a royal licence; and in 1499, we find the Calders giving battle to the Campbells about the possession of the heiress of Kilravock. But the descendants of this chieftain disposed of the baronies in the counties of Nairn and Kinross, and appear to have settled at Muirton, or Muirtown, in the immediate vicinity of Elgin, in which town they built a large house, with castellated battlements, and resided for upwards of a century. One of these was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1686.

Sir Thomas Calder, of Muirtown, had three sons, the eldest of whom, Sir James, having come to England, married Alice, daughter of Rear-Admiral Robert Hughes, and by this lady had four sons. He settled at Park-House, near Maidstone, in Kent, and being patronised by his countryman the Earl of Bute, obtained a place at court. The second son is the subject of the present narrative.

Robert Calder was born in the paternal mansion at Elgin, July 2. 1745. O. S., and received his education at the grammar school of that ancient town. At an early age, however, he was sent to England, and having entered a midshipman, first trod the quarter-deck of a man of war, when only fourteen. In 1766, he accompanied the Hon. George Faulkener, as Lieutenant of the Essex, to the West Indies; but it was not until many years after that he obtained the rank, first of master and commander, and then of post-captain, in the navy.

The officer whose memoirs form the subject of the present article, appears to have studied his profession, and to have acquired considerable knowledge, in every thing appertaining to it. He had also the good fortune to serve under very able men, by which means he obtained a considerable degree of knowledge in all branches of naval tactics.

During the American war, Captain Calder was employed in the Channel Fleet. In 1782, he commanded the *Diana*, which was employed as a repeating-frigate to Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt. At this period he was doomed to witness one of the most disastrous events recorded in the annals of the British Navy. Sir Charles Hardy, who at that time commanded the English fleet, received orders not to risk an engagement with the combined squadrons of France and Spain, which then appeared on our coasts. He accordingly withdrew, and having *hauled in* between the Wolf-rock and the Main, so as to open the Bristol Channel, obtained shelter and security. On this occasion, the sailors were so indignant as to blind a figure of the King with their hammocks, swearing, "that His Majesty George the Third should not witness their flight." Captain Calder, who belonged to the rear division, appears to have participated in their indignation; for although within a short distance of one of the enemy's two-deckers, which might have sunk his vessel with a single broadside, he refused to retire, until expressly ordered by signal. The hostile fleet soon after this withdrew into port, and that of England has ever since maintained its accustomed superiority.

Meanwhile Captain Calder, being desirous to settle in life, on the 1st of May, 1779, espoused Amelia, the only daughter of John Mitchell, of Bayfield Hall, in the county of Norfolk, Esq., a gentleman who had died (in 1766), several years previously to this event, after having served during many parliaments as member for Boston, in Lincolnshire. By this lady, who possessed great beauty, he never had any issue; and although always tenderly attached to her, the union on the whole, perhaps, did not prove happy, as her health soon became bad, and this circumstance was occasionally accompanied with a certain degree of mental estrangement, of a peculiarly distressing nature. Immediately on this event taking place, he purchased a residence at Southwic, in the vicinity of Portsmouth and Southampton, where he resided for many years.

At the commencement of the war with France, Captain Calder was immediately selected for employment, and such was his reputation for skill and intrepidity, that he was appointed First Captain to Admiral Roddam's flag, while flying on board the *Barfleur*. He afterwards commanded the *Thésée*, of 74 guns, which formed part of Lord Howe's fleet in 1794; but having been dispatched with Rear-Admiral Montague's squadron to protect a valuable convoy, destined for the colonies, he did not participate in the brilliant victory of the 1st of June.

Earl St. Vincent, then Sir John Jervis, an officer peculiarly gifted with the power of discovering and the wish of distinguishing merit in others, in 1796, deemed the subject of this memoir a fit person to act in the honourable and confidential situation of Captain of the Fleet under his command. He accordingly served in that capacity on board the *Victory*, off Cadiz, with a squadron of fifteen sail of the line and seven frigates. The merits of the battle that afterwards ensued ought assuredly in part to be attributed to this officer; for it was chiefly achieved by mere seamanship, and he alone occupied that station which was entrusted with the superintendence of the whole series of manœuvres.

On the 13th of February, 1797, the Commander in Chief, with the force just enumerated, descried a Spanish fleet, far superior in point of number, as well as of guns, for it consisted of twenty-six line of battle ships, and twelve frigates. A pursuit immediately took place, and it was so contrived that the English, who gained upon the enemy, had actually commenced the action before Admiral Don Joseph de Cordova, whose flag was flying on board a first-rate, was able to complete his line of battle, as a number of his large vessels had been separated from the main body. Having passed in full sail, through the enemy's squadron, and tacked at a critical moment, so as to cut off all that portion of the fleet which had fallen to leeward, the signal was immediately given for close fight; and after a short, but severe and effectual can-

nonade, the four following line of battle ships were obliged to strike their flags, viz.

1. Il Salvador del Mundo, carrying 112 guns.
2. San Josef - - - - 112
3. San Nicolas - - - - 80
4. San Ysidoro - - - - 74

This memorable victory, fought off Cape St. Vincent in Spain, obtained for the British Admiral an earldom, while the Captain of the Fleet, who brought home the dispatches, was immediately knighted, and soon after received a patent of baronetage, by the style and title of Sir Robert Calder, of Southwic, in the county of Hants.

On the 14th of February, 1799, Sir Robert obtained his flag as Rear-Admiral, by seniority; and, in 1801, was dispatched with a small squadron in quest of Admiral Gantheaume, who had sailed from France, with the express purpose of supplying the army in Egypt with stores, ammunition, &c.

At the conclusion of the first peace with the French Republic, Sir Robert once more retired to his estate in Hampshire; but on the renewal of hostilities, he was immediately re-appointed, and in the promotion which took place the 23d April, 1804, he was advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White. While employed in this latter capacity, he was selected, in 1805, by Admiral Cornwallis, who then commanded the Channel Fleet, to blockade the harbours of Ferrol and Corunna. The force entrusted to him on this occasion proved very inadequate to the service; for, although there were then five French ships of the line and three frigates, together with five Spanish line of battle ships and four frigates, all ready for sea, in the ports just alluded to; yet he had only seven sail allotted to him on the present occasion; these indeed were afterwards increased to nine; but notwithstanding he repeatedly demanded two frigates and some smaller vessels to be placed at the entrance of the harbours in question, they could not be spared. He, however, retained his station, notwithstanding the manœuvres of the Brest fleet, and, on.

being joined by Rear-Admiral Stirling with five sail of the line from before Rochefort, together with a frigate and a lugger, he proceeded to sea, for the express purpose of intercepting the French and Spanish squadrons from the West Indies, which were supposed to consist of no more than sixteen capital ships. Soon after this the combined fleet, consisting of no fewer than twenty sail of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, were descried; while the English force amounted to no more than fifteen ships, two frigates, a cutter and a lugger. As this action not only made a great noise at the time, but actually produced a court-martial soon after, we shall here give a precise and authentic list of the respective forces.

#### ENEMY'S LINE OF BATTLE ON THE 22D OF JULY, 1805.

SPANISH VAN.			
<i>Ships.</i>		<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
1. Argonaute	-	80	Admiral Gravina.
2. Terrible	-	74	
3. Espania	-	64	
4. America	-	64	
5. Rafael (taken)	-	84	Don Francis Montes.
6. Firme (taken)	-	74	Don Rafael Villavicencio.

FRENCH CENTRE.			
7. Le Pluton	-	80	
8. Neptune	-	90	
9. Mont Blanc	-	74	
10. Bucentaure	-	84	Admiral Villeneuve.
11. Atlas	-	74	
12. Berwick	-	74	
7 Frigates, — L'Hortense, La Cornelia, La Didon, La Permaine, La Sirene, La Themis. Le Rhin.			

REAR.			
13. Formidable	-	80	Admiral Dumanoir.
14. Intrepide	-	74	
15. Swiftsure	-	74	
16. Indomptable	-	80	
17. Scipion	-	74	
18. Aigle	-	74	
19. Achille	-	74	
20. Algeziers	-	74	Admiral Magon.
2 Brigs, — L'Argus, Le Faret.			



## ENGLISH LINE OF BATTLE ON THE 22D OF JULY, 1805.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
1. Hero	74	Hon. Captain Gardner.
2. Ajax	80	W. Brown.
3. Triumph	74	H. Inman.
4. Barfleur	98	G. Martin.
5. Agamemnon	64	J. Harvey.
6. Windsor Castle	98	C. Boyles.
Frigate, — <i>Egyptienne.</i>		
REAR.		
7. Defiance	74	P. Durham.
8. Prince of Wales	98	} Vice-Admiral Sir R. Calder, Bart. W. Cuming, Captain.
9. Repulse	74	
10. Raisonnable	64	Hon. A. K. Legge.
11. Dragon	74	J. Rowley.
12. Glory	98	} Rear-Admiral Stirling. Samuel Warren, Captain.
13. Warrior	74	
14. Thunderer	74	S. H. Linzee.
15. Malta	84	W. Lechmere.
		E. Buller.
Frisk cutter, Nile lugger, Sirius frigate.		

After a sharp contest against a superior force, with the weather gage in their favour, which continued until dark, two sail of the line, the *Rafael* of eighty-four, and the *Firme* of seventy-four, guns, were both captured. Here follows an account of the engagement, as contained in the official letter, addressed to Admiral Cornwallis: the paragraphs suppressed in the *Gazette* will be found marked in *italics*.

" Prince of Wales, 23d July, Ferrol bearing E. distance forty-nine leagues, Cape Finisterre S. fifty-two E. distance thirty-nine leagues.

" Sir, 25th July.

" Yesterday, at noon, I was favoured with a view of the combined squadrons of France and Spain, consisting of twenty sail of the line, also three large ships armed en flute, of about fifty guns each, with five frigates, and three brigs.

" The force under my direction, at this time, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger; I

immediately stood towards the enemy with the squadron, making the needful signals for battle in the closest order; and on closing with them, I made the signal for attacking their centre. When I had reached their rear, I tacked the squadron in succession; this brought us close up under their lee: and when our headmost ships reached their centre, the enemy were tacking in succession: this obliged me again to make the same manœuvre, by which I brought on a very decisive action, which lasted upwards of four hours, when I found it necessary to bring the squadron to, to cover the captured ships, whose names are in the margin.

“ I have to observe, the enemy had every advantage of wind and weather. During the whole day the weather had been foggy at times: a great part of the morning, and very soon after we had brought them to action, the fog was so thick, at intervals, that we could with great difficulty see the ship ahead or astern of us. This rendered it impossible to take the advantage of the enemy by signals, as I could wish to have done. Had the weather been more favourable, I am led to believe the victory would have been more complete.

“ I have very great pleasure in saying every ship exerted itself, and was conducted in the most masterly style; and I beg leave here publicly to return to rear-admiral Stirling, and every captain, officer, and man, whom I had the honour to command on that day, my most grateful thanks for their very conspicuous, gallant, and very judicious good conduct. The honourable captain Gardner, of the *Hero*, led the van squadron in a most masterly and officer-like manner: to whom I feel myself particularly indebted, as also to captain Cuming for his assistance during the action. Inclosed is a list of the killed and wounded on board the different ships. If I may judge from the great slaughter on board the captured ships, the enemy must have suffered greatly. They are now in sight to windward; and when I have secured the captured ships, and put the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any opportunity that may offer to give you some further account of these combined squadrons. *At the same time, it will behove me to be upon*

*my guard against the combined squadrons at Ferrol, as I am led to believe they have sent off one or two of their crippled ships last night for that port; therefore, possibly I may find it necessary to make a junction with you immediately off Ushant with the whole squadron.* I have the honour to be, with great respect and regard, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

“ROBERT CALDER.

“The Hon. Admiral Cornwallis, &c.”

“P.S. *I am under the necessity of sending the Windsor Castle to you, in consequence of the damage she sustained in the action.* Captain Buller has acquainted me, that the prisoners on board the prizes assert Ferrol to be the port to which the enemy's squadron are bound, as you will perceive by letters inclosed with my original dispatch, together with other private information.”

The conduct of Sir Robert Calder on this occasion, appears to have obtained the full approbation of his commander in chief, for he soon after dispatched him on purpose to cruise off Cadiz, with a considerable squadron, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. But the success did not appear sufficiently brilliant to the Lords of the Admiralty of that day, who had been accustomed to the most fortunate and decisive results, although the nation appeared to be perfectly satisfied with an action which had deprived a superior fleet of two sail of line of battle ships, and discomfited all further attempts on the part of the enemy.

However, on learning that he had been attacked in the most cruel and unmerited manner by some of the English newspapers, Sir Robert Calder, in a dispatch to the Admiralty, dated October 2, 1805, requested that an enquiry might immediately take place, respecting his conduct during the late action, “for the purpose,” observes he, “of enabling me to give my reasons publicly for my conduct at that time, and to refute all unjust, illiberal, and unfounded assertions; when I trust,” it is added, “I shall make it appear to the satisfaction

of my king, country, and friends, that no part of my conduct and character will be found deserving of those illiberal impressions, which at present occupy the public mind; being conscious that every thing in my power, was done for the honour and welfare of my king and country, after a very minute investigation of all the existing circumstances, and the very critical situation I was placed in with the squadron I had the honour to command at the time alluded to."

This request having been acceded to by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a court martial assembled on board the Prince of Wales, in Portsmouth Harbour, on Monday, December 23, 1805. Admiral Montague having been nominated President, the witnesses on behalf of the prosecution were called in, sworn, and examined; after which Sir Robert Calder's defence was read. In the course of this, he contended, that he was fully justifiable in not renewing the action, even had he been able so to do, as this might not only have endangered the safety of his own fleet, but eventually that of the country itself. "I am ready to admit," adds he, "that it is so much the duty of an officer to engage the enemy wherever he meets with *them*, that it is incumbent upon him to explain, satisfactorily, why he does not; but in making that explanation, it is not necessary for him to prove the *physical* impossibility of doing so. It may be possible, and yet there may be very many reasons why he should not. Indeed, the absurdity of a contrary opinion is such, that it would be an idle waste of time to trouble the court with any observations upon it."

"It will, however, be permitted to observe that mine is not the only instance where a British fleet has laid in sight of that of the enemy without renewing an engagement."

"In proof of this assertion, if it be necessary, I need only recal to your memory, out of many others, the example of two very great and gallant officers, who, after having obtained most brilliant victories over the enemy, did not think themselves justified in bringing them a second time to action, although they were in sight of them fully as long as I was. The two meritorious officers to whom I allude are Earl Howe,

in the action of the 1st of June, 1794; and Earl St. Vincent, in that of the 27th of February, 1797. Of the latter I am competent to speak from my own knowledge, having had the honour to serve under his lordship as captain of the fleet in that engagement.

“Of the propriety of the conduct of these noble lords, in both instances, no doubt has at any moment been entertained by any body. They certainly exercised a sound discretion upon the occasion; but it may not be improper for me to remark, that although the advantages they had acquired were certainly superior to mine, that mine was a situation in which it was in every respect more necessary to exercise that discretion, which, in every case, must be vested in the commander of a squadron, to judge of the propriety or impropriety of offering battle to a superior fleet. In the instances above-mentioned there was no other force to contend with, no other quarter from which an attack was to be apprehended, than the fleets which had been already engaged. In mine, it behoved me to be particularly on my guard against the Ferrol and Rochefort squadrons, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line, both which I had reason to believe were out, *one of which appears to have been actually on the sea*, and to which the squadron opposed to me might easily have given notice of their situation, as will be hereafter more fully stated.”

The admiral then alluded to the action of the 22d, respecting which he observed, “that the victory certainly was ours, and most decisively so; and that he had only to lament that the weather did not afford an opportunity of making it more complete.” The firing, he added, did not cease until half past nine o'clock, and before this his night signals were hoisted, it being then dark. The enemy were to windward a long cannon-shot; the evening was “foggy and dirty,” the foretopmast of the Windsor Castle was shot away, and the other vessels were employed in repairing their losses, “and being then unacquainted,” adds Sir Robert, “with the state of the damages which the several ships had received, I did flatter myself that I should, the next morning, have been in a con-

dition to renew the engagement, and with that view I did all I could, consistently with the attention necessary to prevent a separation between any parts of the squadron, to keep as near as possible to the enemy during the night."

At day-break, however, notwithstanding all his endeavours to achieve this, the admiral found that he was eight or nine miles to leeward, with the Malta, Thunderer, the prizes, and frigates, entirely out of sight; while the Windsor Castle was in tow of the Dragon, and the Malta had one of the captured ships in tow also. A formidable list of the damages sustained by the ships in his squadron had been just sent in, and the enemy appeared to those on board the Prince of Wales (the flag-ship) not to have sustained any loss in their masts or yards, with the exception of a vessel which was in the act of replacing one of the latter.

In this state of affairs, the Admiral considered his own fleet, on account of the crippled situation of several of the ships, as not in a condition to carry sufficient sail to windward to force the enemy to a renewal of the action, particularly as there was a considerable sea, with a very heavy swell, which would have endangered both masts and yards, had he been rash enough to have attempted it.

"That my judgement," continues he, "respecting the inability of these ships to carry sail was correct, requires, I apprehend, no other proof than, that early in the morning of the 23d, on edging down under easy sail to join the Malta and other ships to leeward, and effect a junction of my squadron, the Barfleur sprung a lower yard; and that on the 25th, after having parted company with the Windsor Castle and prizes, and made sail to endeavour to regain the enemy, a few hours only had elapsed before the Repulse sprung her bowsprit, and the Malta her main-yard. This was the first time that any press of sail had been carried after the action, and affords a specimen of what might have been expected had I ordered them to carry so much sail on the morning after the action, as must have been necessary to have given me even a chance of getting up to the enemy."



“It has also been proved to you, by Captain Inman, that when on the morning of the 23d I ordered his ship to drive away a frigate that was coming too near us, for the purpose of reconnoitring, he was every moment apprehensive that her masts would have gone by the board.

“Another consequence, which must have attended my attempt to force a renewal of the action, would have been a separation, and probable capture, of the Windsor Castle and prizes; for, independently of their falling in with the Rochefort squadron, had I sent them to England without taking care of them until they were past that danger, it was observed that the enemy had three sail of the line and three or four frigates constantly advanced on their weather bow, ready to act against any ships that might have been separated from the main body, provided I had made any movement to occasion such separation. This I conceive it was my duty on every account to prevent. By doing so I preserved the victory I had acquired, in spite of their very great superiority, and in defiance of the many hostile squadrons I was surrounded by at this time.

“In endeavouring to compel a renewal of the action, I should also have sustained a very considerable inconvenience in the want of frigates, a class of ships particularly useful at such a time, for purposes so obvious to the court, that it would be superfluous to point them out.

“Permit me also to say a word or two upon the superiority of the enemy in point of numbers. I am far from encouraging the idea that on no account is an engagement to be risked where the enemy is even greatly superior; I know too well the spirit, the valour, and bravery of my countrymen, to entertain such a thought; my conduct in commencing the action on this occasion is a decisive proof of it. But I do deprecate the idea that, under all circumstances, and in all situations, an engagement must be continued as long as it is practicable to continue it, whatever may be the opinion of the officer commanding a squadron, that he puts to hazard, by such continuance, the advantages he had gained by his original attack.

The consequence of such an idea being encouraged and inculcated, must, one day, become fatal to many good and gallant officers, as well as to my country. I contend that every case of an engagement with a superior force, must depend upon its own circumstances; and the propriety of entering into or renewing it, must depend upon the discretion of the commander, to be exercised according to the best of his judgment, and subject to that responsibility which attaches to all persons in situations of command.

“Circumstanced as I thus was, it appeared to me to be impracticable to have forced the enemy to action, or, if at all with such advantage as would have justified the attempt, even if I had nothing to apprehend from any squadron but that which I was opposed to, and if the opposing squadron had been the only object to which, by my orders, my attention had been directed; but when I reflected that in addition to that squadron and the Rochefort, which it appears were then actually at sea, there were sixteen sail of the line at Ferrol, within a few hours sail, who, if not already out, might, on receiving intelligence from the combined squadrons, have come out to their assistance; or, in the event of my not being in a situation to return to Ferrol, the continuance of which blockade was one main object of my instructions, there would be no force to oppose those squadrons, and that they would more than probably have pushed for Ireland, or perhaps England, to facilitate the invasion, which was then every moment expected; I really felt that I should be running too great a hazard, and putting my fleet into a situation of danger which I could never have justified.

“I therefore judged it most prudent to keep my squadron together, and not to attempt to renew the engagement unless the enemy offered it, or an opportunity afforded itself of my doing so under more favourable circumstances than at that time presented themselves.

“At the same time conceiving that their object might be to effect a junction with the ships at Ferrol, I determined, if possible, to prevent their attaining that object, and to keep

myself between them and that port, and, if possible, to draw them to the northward; that, by so doing, I might accompany the Windsor Castle and prizes out of the reach of the Rochefort squadron, and afterwards perhaps have an opportunity of re-attacking the enemy before they could reach their own shores; that this was the determination formed at the time will appear from all my letters, and will be proved by a witness whom I will call to this point.

“ Having formed this conclusion, I acted upon it during the two days that the enemy remained in sight, keeping my squadron collected under an easy sail, certainly never offering, but as certainly never avoiding, an engagement, had the enemy chosen to bring it on. On the contrary, it has been proved, that upon all occasions where they bore down and had the appearance of an intention to engage us, I immediately hauled my wind for the purpose of receiving them; and have no doubt but that, had they persevered in what appeared to have been their intention, though I believe it was only done vauntingly, to use the expression of one witness, or, as another has said, *only done* for the purpose of joining their leewardmost ships, and keeping their squadron together, they would have met with a proper reception. If, however, at any time, they really entertained any such intention, they very soon abandoned it, for on all the occasions I have mentioned they hauled their wind in a very short time after they had begun to bear down.

“ During the whole of the 23d the enemy had the wind. At the close of it they were at the distance of more than four leagues. I made signal that I should steer north-east, and that every ship should carry a light, to prevent separation during the night.

“ At day-break in the morning of the 24th the enemy's fleet was west six or seven leagues, seen only from the mast-head. It is true, that during the greatest part of this day the wind was in our favour, but they were light breezes; there was a considerable swell; their distance from us was considerable, and I doubt much if I could have made sufficient way to have over-

taken them. I did not, therefore, feel that an opportunity sufficiently favourable had offered itself to induce me to vary from the determination I had before formed. About fifty minutes after three one of them steered to the south-east, and at six they were entirely out of sight.

“ During the whole of the 25th I continued my course by north, and having accompanied the Windsor Castle and prizes so far to the northward that I thought they might proceed with safety, I parted with them, and directed Captain Boyles to acquaint the Commander in Chief that I should make the best of my way to the rendezvous off Cape Finisterre, in the hope of falling in with Lord Nelson, and if I did not find his lordship there in a short time after my arrival, I should proceed in search of the combined squadrons, supposed to be gone for Ferrol, and that if any favourable opportunity should offer of attacking them before they got in, I certainly should avail myself of it.”

The admiral concluded a very able defence by complaining of the disappointment of himself and his brave associates in consequence of the treatment they had received after their victory; and above all he loudly protested against the manner in which his dispatches had been garbled.

The following is the sentence of the Court :

“ At a court-martial assembled on board His Majesty's ship Prince of Wales, in Portsmouth harbour, on the 23d day of December, 1805, and continued by adjournment from day to day, until the 26th day of the same month,

“ Pursuant to an order from the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated the 15th day of November last past, and directed to the president; setting forth that Sir Robert Calder, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the Blue, had, by his letter to their lordship's secretary, dated the 13th day of September last, requested, for the reasons therein mentioned, that an enquiry may be made into his, the said Vice-Admiral's, conduct on the 23d day of July last, the day after the engagement with the combined fleets of France and Spain, or upon the whole or such part thereof (when in presence of

the enemy) as should appear for the good of His Majesty's service, and for enabling him to give his reasons publicly for his conduct on that occasion.

“ And that their lordships thought fit, in compliance with the Vice-Admiral's request, and for the reasons mentioned in his said letter, that a court-martial should be assembled for the purpose above mentioned; and also for enquiring into the whole of the said Vice-Admiral's conduct and proceedings on the said 23d day of July, and into his subsequent conduct and proceedings, until he finally lost sight of the enemy's ships; and to try him for not having done his utmost to renew the said engagement, and to take and destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage, the Court proceeded to enquire into the conduct and proceedings of the said Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, with His Majesty's squadron under his command, on the said 23d day of July last, and also into his subsequent conduct and proceedings, until he finally lost sight of the enemy's fleet, and to try him for not having done his utmost to renew the said engagement, and to take or destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage; and having heard the evidence produced in support of the charge, and by the said Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, Bart., in his defence, and what he had to allege in support thereof, and having maturely and deliberately weighed and considered the whole, the Court is of opinion, that the charge of his not having done his utmost to renew the said engagement, and to take or destroy every ship of the enemy, has been proved against the said Vice-Admiral Calder; that it appears that his conduct has not been actuated either by cowardice or disaffection, but has arisen solely from error in judgment, and is highly censurable, and doth adjudge him to be severely reprimanded, and the said Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder is hereby severely reprimanded accordingly.

“ Signed

“ George Montague, President.

“ J. Hollaway (Vice-Admiral). R.S. Rowley (Vice-Admiral).

“ E. Thornborough (Vice-Ad.). J. Coffin (Rear-Ad.).

- " J. Sutton (Rear-Ad.).                      J. Bisset (Captain).  
 " R. D. Oliver (Captain).                  J. Irwin (ditto).  
 " J. A. Wood (ditto).                      J. Seater (ditto).  
 " T. B. Capel, the Hon. (ditto). J. Larmour (ditto).  
 " M. Greekham, jun. Deputy Judge Advocate of the Fleet."

This sentence did not at all prove popular; for it was the first time in the annals of our naval warfare, that a commander who had engaged a superior fleet, and taken two of the enemy's line of battle ships, without losing a single sail of his own, had been "severely reprimanded." Indeed the Admiralty itself seems to have been of this opinion, for Sir Robert was soon after nominated Port-Admiral at Portsmouth, and until the last period of his existence experienced the greatest respect and attention, not only on the part of that board, but from persons of all ranks and degrees in life. The hardship of his case was also mentioned in parliament by two distinguished noblemen, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Romney; and had he not been restored to the service of his country, his disgrace would have reflected discredit on the gratitude and justice of the nation.

After these remarks on the official conduct of the subject of this memoir, it now only remains to add, that Sir Robert Calder died at Holt, near Bishop's Waltham, in the county of Hants, the 31st of August, 1818, in the 74th year of his age. He was an excellent officer, well acquainted with all the different branches of his profession, and admirably calculated, both by nature and education, for the government and superintendence of a large fleet. No better sailor ever existed in the service, and he was acknowledged to be particularly expert at manœuvres and the regulation of squadrons, by means of signals.

By his will he proved his sincere wish and desire to provide every possible comfort for his widow, during the continuance or recurrence of her unhappy malady. The house, and grounds appurtenant to it, together with the stock, &c. are to be delivered to her ladyship at the end of one year, should

any favourable change have taken place; but if not, a sufficiency to be retained on the premises, to supply every possible want; and the remainder to be taken away by his nephew Sir Henry Roddam Calder, on condition of returning the same, in case of Lady Calder's recovery. The whole interest of all the property, is also left in trust for her ladyship during her natural life; and on her decease, the personality (estimated at about 30,000*l.*) is to be invested in the purchase of freehold estates in England, which are devised to the said Sir Henry Roddam Calder, and his heirs male.

## No. II.



HARVEY CHRISTIAN COMBE, Esq.

LATE ALDERMAN, AND FORMERLY LORD MAYOR, AND ONE OF  
THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE CITY OF LONDON.

THE metropolis of the United Kingdom, if it has not actually produced, must be allowed to have selected a long series of bold, intrepid, and not unfrequently, enlightened senators, to represent it in Parliament. Eminently *loyal* itself, in the best sense of the word, on every great occasion, it has exhibited an ardent love of liberty, superadded to a certain tenaciousness, not only of its own privileges, but those also of the community at large. The example was first given during the reign of James II., and still continues to operate with efficacy on the whole body of the commonwealth. At the Revolution, William III. found a powerful support in the zeal and enterprise of the citizens of London; and no corporation in the three kingdoms displayed a greater degree of attachment at the accession of George I. when the present illustrious family was happily seated on the throne of these realms.



The peculiar and extraordinary privilege of sending four members to parliament, has enabled the livery to nominate a long and respectable list, of which it would be in vain to look for a parallel in any county, city, or borough in the Empire. It is only necessary, indeed, to recapitulate their names, to obtain a full assent to this proposition. Of Sir John Bernard and Sir Stephen Theodore Janson, the one obtained the spontaneous praise of the first William Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham), while the other, whose integrity became proverbial, was only inferior to the Russells, the Sidneys, and the Hampdens of a former day, in consequence of the difference of the times in which he lived. Beckford, at once a member and Lord Mayor, introduced magnificence into the city, and was the first who entertained foreign monarchs at the Mansion House\*, while he occasionally opposed the ministers of his own king in the House of Commons. Oliver, his successor, followed the same track, and rendered his name celebrated, by vindicating the franchises of the city, in the case of the Printers, for which he was sent to the Tower, in consequence of having committed the Serjeant at Arms, although provided with the written authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons, to the Poultry Compter. The more recent names of Townshend, Sawbridge, and Combe, are familiar to us all. They lived in our own times, and constantly asserted and practised the ancient, and almost obsolete doctrine, that the representative is strictly bound by the instructions of his constituents.

Harvey Christian Combe, whose talents and uniform integrity rendered him worthy of being associated with his predecessors, was born in the county of Hants, in the year 1752. He was the eldest son of an eminent attorney at Andover, on whose death, a landed estate of 500*l.* a year devolved to him, and he might have succeeded to a practice still more profitable, had he been inclined to follow the profession of his father. But the law appears to have been uninviting, and

\* The King of Denmark was astonished at his superb reception by his lordship.

almost odious to the whole family; for, while his two younger brothers eagerly rushed into the army, he himself, after attaining a good provincial education resolved to dedicate his life to commerce.

But as the country did not afford a sufficient scope for his ambition, young Combe repaired to the capital, and entered into the corn trade. The house of his maternal uncle, the late Boyce Trees, who was then a very eminent factor, afforded him ample opportunities for learning all the *arcana* of this very important and profitable branch. While in the office of his relation, he addicted himself to business with an uncommon degree of assiduity, and his new home and manner of life, perhaps, were still more endeared to him by the charms of his lovely cousin, Catharine. Their affections proving mutual, a marriage in due time ensued; and on the death of the gentleman who united in his own person the character of both uncle and father-in-law, Mr. Combe succeeded to the business. There is a certain *tact* in the city by which rising men appear to be known to each other, so that their future fortunes are prognosticated with a degree of certainty that may seem singular and extraordinary to the uninitiated. Accordingly, an attorney of great acuteness, (Mr. Rudd) although he had only seen the subject of this memoir occasionally at a whist club, after enquiring into his character and connexions, hailed him, while yet a very young man, as the future representative and lord mayor of the metropolis. A distinguished member of the corporation \*, who

\* Mr. Alderman Sawbridge. Of this gentleman the following brief account is taken from a tract now become very scarce :

“ He was descended from one of the most honourable and ancient families in Kent, whose ancestors frequently represented that county in Parliament. He inherited a good fortune, and very early in life captivated a lady with a fortune of 100,000*l*. This lady died in less than a twelvemonth, and rewarded the kindness of Mr. Sawbridge with the whole of her fortune.

“ Mr. Wilkes introduced this gentleman into the practice of politics, and, in the theory, he had made a very rapid progress under the auspices of (his sister) Mrs. Macaulay.

“ He was sheriff in 1769, in conjunction with the late James Townshend, Esq.

“ In defiance of a threat of a bill of pains and penalties, held out by Government, he persevered in his duty, and returned Mr. Wilkes to Parliament five successive times, notwithstanding a resolution of the House of Commons, since declared illegal.

“ A schoolboy friendship introduced him to the notice of Lord Chatham, through whom he was brought into Parliament, and this mutual friendship reflected honour on

had occupied both situations with no common degree of credit, contributed to verify this prediction. It was he who first introduced the subject of this memoir to that great municipal body, to whose charge is entrusted the care of the rights and the franchises of the city; and it was he too, who by his influence and advice, and it may be added his *patronage*, paved the way for the respectable station of an alderman. This event afterwards conducted the fortunate candidate to all the remaining honours of the metropolis, such as the shrievalty, the pretorian chair, and the still greater, because more permanent distinction, of one of the representatives.

Meanwhile Mr. Combe aspired to greater distinction in the commercial as well as in the political world. On looking around him, he beheld not only the *superior* but the most opulent classes engaged in trade to consist chiefly of brewers. The Ladd's had become baronets. The descendants of the Thrales had formed an alliance with one of the most ancient of the Scottish nobility; while the Whitbreads, after purchasing landed estates, to an immense amount, in the county of Bedford, now shone in the British senate with unrivalled splendour; and, in the person of the son of the founder of that house, seemed to eclipse the aristocracy both in magnificence and in talents.

It is not a little remarkable, that all these great capitalists both rose and flourished in the borough of Southwark; and this too within a few hundred yards of each other. Mr. Combe, who deemed it no great transition to convert his

each. The Peer aided by his influence one who wanted his patronage, and the party obliged repaid it by proper but independent exertions of gratitude and genius.

“He (Mr. Alderman Sawbridge) was the constant and unshaken advocate of parliamentary reform, and the sworn enemy to corruption; a man of talents, a man of education, and an *useful* speaker.

“He was an alderman of the ward of Langbourne, by which he was much esteemed. was never in any place, was steady in his principles, inviolable in his friendship, and consistent in his politics; he was a staunch Whig.

“In private life he was benevolent, hospitable, and sincere. He possessed all the manners and accomplishments of the gentleman and the man of fashion. Mr. Sawbridge died in 1794.”

*barley* into *malt*, at length determined to establish a great brewery in the neighbourhood of Bedford Square, as this new portion of the metropolis possessed the desirable advantages of a central situation and an increasing neighbourhood. Having selected two opulent friends as partners \*, a capital was speedily collected out of their joint wealth ; and the projector lived to behold this new house, trading under the firm of Gifford and Co. †, become the fourth or fifth, in point of importance, in the metropolis. ‡

Soon after this, he was elected an alderman of the city of London, and conducted himself on all occasions, not only like an upright magistrate, but with a degree of urbanity, attention, and discernment, that speedily ensured a large portion of the public applause: while sheriff, too, he gave general satisfaction.

On the death of his friend Mr. Sawbridge, in 1795, the alderman was encouraged to offer himself as his successor ; but on this occasion, he was opposed by Mr. Lushington, then a very eminent merchant of the city of London, who united in

\* These were Mr. Delafield, his brother-in-law, who had been with Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. George Shum. The business first commenced under the firm of Shum, Combe, and Delafield ; but having purchased the extensive premises of Gifford and Co., they afterwards traded under that name.

† It has been customary ever since the accession of the House of Hanover, for the great brewers of London to receive and entertain the royal family in their respective manufactories. If we mistake not greatly, our Henry V., when contending for the crown of France, was feasted in a most hospitable and sumptuous manner by a wealthy brewer of Antwerp.

George I. and II. honoured the Gascoynes with their presence. His present Majesty George III. condescended to visit the premises of the first Whitbread, (father to the late celebrated M. P. for Bedford,) on which occasion all the men were clothed in a complete uniform dress, while the horses were decorated with new harness.

In order to revive this ancient custom, which had become nearly obsolete during a long reign, Mr. Alderman Combe, some years since, gave an entertainment to the Duke and Duchess of York and the Duke of Cambridge. On this occasion, the *stoker*, dressed in a clean white cap and jacket, broiled rump steaks, *more majorum*, on his polished iron shovel, and served them up *hot and hot* to his royal guests on pewter trenchers ; while the table, placed in the centre of the brew-house, was very appropriately covered with hop-sacks, and the company regaled with *brown stout*, handed round in wooden mugs !

‡ In 1804, the *maximum* produce of the first strong-beer brewer in the metropolis, according to the excise return, was 152,500 gallons. Mr. Combe's establishment paid the duty on 87,700 gallons.

his own person both the East and West India interest. The election commenced on the 3d of March, and closed two days after, in consequence of Mr. Combe's wisely declining to prosecute a losing cause. \*

But although balked on this occasion, his disappointment proved but of short duration; for we soon after find the subject of this memoir returned one of the city representatives; and such was his increasing popularity, that at the general election in 1802, when there were no fewer than seven candidates, he was manifestly the favourite, for his name was placed at the head of the poll.

It is not to be concealed, however, that during the late war, when party-animosities ran high, Mr. Alderman Combe was both opposed and hated by a very formidable junto in the city of London. It is no less true, however, that he defeated their plans for his abasement, and finally triumphed over all his enemies. Having been nominated Captain-Commandant of the Aldgate Volunteers, it was hoped that no commission would be issued to him by the crown; but His Majesty's Ministers were far more liberal than many of their supporters, and accordingly, in due time, he became first a major, and then lieutenant-colonel. On this, as on every other occasion, he displayed a manly spirit; for he disdained to exercise his authority over others without being sufficiently apprised of his own duty. Accordingly, before he presumed to give the word of command, the alderman submitted to the *drill*; and after being some time under the hands of the serjeant and the adjutant, repaired to head quarters, with the character of an excellent officer.

\* The numbers were as follows, at the close of the poll:

For William Lushington, Esq. . . . . 2334

— Harvey Christian Combe, Esq. . . . . 1560

In the course of the next year, the Alderman proved more fortunate, having polled 3865, and being the third candidate in point of numbers.

In 1802, he was at the head of the poll, having . . . . . 3377 votes.

In 1806, he was again placed first, having . . . . . 2294 ditto.

In 1807, he stood fourth in order, with . . . . . 2583 ditto.

In 1812, he was once more first, having . . . . . 5125 ditto.

In 1800, Mr. Combe, who, in the mean time, had distinguished himself greatly by his public spirit during his shrievalty, was at length exalted, after a variety of difficulties, to serve the office of lord mayor. The livery are accustomed to select and return certain candidates; but the nomination of any one of these individuals, is expressly vested in the Court of Aldermen. It is usual, however, on this occasion, to choose the senior magistrates in rotation; but in 1799, a junior one was actually nominated, expressly on purpose to mortify him, and obstruct his preferment. Effectual means, however, were adopted in the course of the preceding year to defeat this *manceuvre*, which was at length fully accomplished by the intervention of the late Mr. Alderman Skinner. Accordingly, Mr. Combe was put in nomination with that respectable magistrate, who was his *senior* in the corporation, and had consequently been invested with the civic honours many years before this period. As was expected by all parties, Mr. Skinner declined; and at the same time paid the highest compliment to the talents and integrity of the other candidate, who stood by him on the hustings. This measure proved effectual; for, as he could not be forced to serve the office a second time, nothing now remained for the opponents of the subject of this memoir but acquiescence.

During his mayoralty Mr. Combe conducted himself in such a manner as to excite the applause both of friends and enemies. He was requested by some of his constituents, on one trying occasion, to call out the military; but my lord mayor disclaimed that course, and proved in the case of a mob, who had assembled at the Corn-market, that our ancient laws were still effectual, and that the constable's staff was more constitutional, as well as more efficacious, than the bayonet.

In respect to his parliamentary conduct, Mr. Alderman Combe appears to have acted generally with the Whigs. Accordingly, during the first war with France, in conjunction with Mr. Fox and many others, he not only disapproved of the motives in which the contest had originated, but also in

the manner in which it was prosecuted. It will naturally be concluded that he opposed the administration of the late Mr. Pitt with a considerable degree of zeal and uniformity. But let it be recollected, that on the occasion alluded to, he but obeyed the instructions of his constituents, either expressed or implied : for the livery of London have always exhibited a marked antipathy to continental connections.

In fine, we no sooner find the alderman fairly seated in parliament, than he took an active part in the debate that ensued in consequence of a motion of Mr. Fox \*, against the premier of that day, for presuming to meddle with the public purse, in express opposition to the rights and privileges of the House of Commons. Mr. Combe, in obedience to the voice of the livery, assembled that day in common-hall, who had enjoined him to vote a censure on His Majesty's Ministers, for lavishing the public treasure without the consent of Parliament, not only supported, but also seconded the motion. The member for London commenced a maiden speech of some length, by expressing his pleasure, in obeying the voice of his constituents, as expressed that very forenoon, at a numerous and respectable meeting. They had almost unanimously disapproved of the conduct of His Majesty's Ministers on the present occasion ; and it was with peculiar satisfaction he now obeyed their commands, his duties as a representative being in strict unison with his own opinions. " After what had been advanced by his Right Hon. friend (Mr. Fox), he would not say a word upon the subject in a constitutional point of view. As the representative of the first commercial city in the world, he was well acquainted with the mischief produced by the money sent to the Emperor. The discounting of the bills drawn for the purpose of remitting money to

\* " That His Majesty's Ministers having authorised and directed, at different times, without the consent, and during the sitting of Parliament, the issue of various sums of money for the service of his Imperial Majesty, and also for the service of the army under the Prince of Condé, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have thereby violated the constitutional privileges of this House."

the Imperial troops had swallowed up so much of the wealth of the Bank, as to compel that great body to narrow their discounts; and the British merchants were made to suffer; that the German troops might be supplied. The remittances to the allied armies on the continent had, in fact, been a great cause of the alarming scarcity of money last year, and of most of the embarrassments which had been experienced in the commercial world."

He next adverted "to the professions which had been so recently made by members of Parliament, of love and respect for the constitution, and of regard and deference for the sentiments of their constituents, which he hoped had not already evaporated; on the contrary, he trusted that gentlemen would, on the present evening, give a proof of the contrary. He professed to be attached personally to no man, nor to have any prejudice against any of the members of administration. He voted with Mr. Fox, as a friend to human happiness, which was best secured by political liberty; and this evening he came down, to use the phrase of the Right Hon. Gentleman, impregnated with the sense of his constituents, which was this day so fairly and decidedly given by the Common-hall."

On the 19th of May, 1797, the alderman was pitched upon by Opposition, once more to instigate the immediate removal of the servants of the crown. Accordingly, having noticed all the principal events of the war, and dwelt on the most disastrous epochs of the history of that period, Mr. Combe contrasted the promises of the Cabinet with their actual conduct, and insisted on the consequent disappointment of the public. He concluded a harangue, which was listened to with great attention by both sides of the house, with the following motion: "That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, beseeching him to dismiss from his presence and councils his present ministers, as the most likely means to obtain a speedy and permanent peace." Sir William Milner, Bart., one of the representatives for the city of York, seconded the



motion, which was lost, however, on a division, by a majority of 183.

We find the member for London, who appears to have been the only one of the four who would pledge himself explicitly to obey the instructions of his constituents, soon after supporting Mr. now Lord Grey, in his celebrated motion for a reform in Parliament. Here again, a failure in point of numbers, rather than of arguments, ensued, and that measure has never since been carried into effect: nor is it now, we believe, an object of particular desire on the part of the nobleman then so eager for its success.

In 1800, being then invested with the city regalia, the subject of the present memoir introduced a petition from "His Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, assembled at the Guildhall of the said city, against the continuance of the present war." Instead of being supported by his colleagues on this occasion, the application was ridiculed by some, and disavowed by others, as not expressing the sentiments of their constituents at large.

In 1803, he opposed the principle of the income tax as odious, vexatious, and unequal. Here again he obeyed the injunctions of the livery; and yet two of his colleagues voted in favour of the new impost, in direct opposition to the orders received by them in the Common-hall.

But Mr. Alderman Combe, although frequently, was not uniformly in opposition to all the measures of the cabinet of that day. On the contrary, at a time of great difficulty and danger, he warmly supported the "General Defence Act," and boldly declared, that not only those actually under arms, "but every man in the kingdom ought to go forth, in hostile array, against the enemies of their country, when called upon by the exercise of His Majesty's acknowledged prerogative. There could be no exemption but on the ground of express inability. The citizens of the metropolis," added he, "are not only ready, but anxious to learn, how they can come forward with most effect. If there were any apprehension, it

could arise only from the probability of embarrassment, by the crowds that would rush forth to accomplish a sacred duty. In fine, in every ward, parish, and street of London, the people are only waiting with impatience until His Majesty shall be pleased to point out the means of organizing their courage."

On another occasion (March 19. 1804) Mr. Alderman Combe stated, "that the volunteer force, furnished in and about the metropolis, then amounted to about 2000 men. There was not a single individual of these, who, in case of an invasion, did not consider himself liable to be placed under the command of a general officer, and marched to any part of the kingdom. No one could presume to doubt of the well-known loyalty and zeal of the city of London, because, being expressly exempt by their charter from those military duties to which the rest of England is liable, they had no manner of occasion to seek for refuge from the ballot. It was accordingly evident, that the offer of their services, their zeal, and their energy, could alone originate in a pure and patriotic spirit."

When Mr. Pitt came a second time into place, Mr. Combe divided against his "Additional Force bill," and founded his objections both on constitutional and political grounds. In the Spring of 1805 he joined Mr. Grey, in his motion for papers, with a view to censure Ministers relative to their conduct towards Spain. He also supported Mr. Brand in his motion for the removal of the Cabinet, and voted with Mr. Grey (then become Lord Howick), against the address to the Crown.

There were two occasions, and we believe two only, about this period, on which Mr. Combe happened not to vote in a minority; on the former of these, he acted in direct unison with all the other city representatives, who declared themselves decidedly of opinion, that the supposed malversation of Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville), while treasurer of the navy, demanded immediate investigation; and they accordingly contributed to form the celebrated majority of one. The other included a subject of much personal delicacy, and he

must have made a great sacrifice to his private feelings, by his vote on that day. We now allude to the parliamentary accusation again his Royal Highness the Duke of York, during the first time he acted as commander-in-chief. On this occasion, notwithstanding a certain degree of intercourse, and even intimacy, with this Prince of the Blood, yet Mr. Combe, listening to the voice of his constituents only, joined in the proposition for an enquiry, and was the only one of the four members who obtained the thanks of the Common-hall upon that occasion.

It now remains to mention one peculiarity respecting the subject of this memoir. After the death of his friend Mr. Sawbridge, he began to be considered the best whist player in London. Having at length been admitted a member of Brookes's, he there, of course, associated with some of the first personages in the kingdom, and was not unfrequently accustomed, at other times and places, to try his skill with one of the Royal Dukes. On these occasions, the Alderman is allowed to have displayed a wonderful degree of recollection and self-command; and this was not a little aided by his temperance, and even abstemiousness, previously to any grand match. We have yet to learn that he ever suffered this attachment to interfere with his duties, either public or domestic; and there is reason to suppose, that on the whole, his fortune did not suffer any diminution by an occasional love of play. It may be questioned, however, whether late hours, and long and intense application, did not prove prejudicial to his health. The truth is, that he was seized with a paralytic affection, exactly in the same manner, and perhaps from expressly the same cause, as the late Alderman Sawbridge; and, like him, experienced a long and lingering illness for some years before his death. But although his lower limbs were debilitated, yet the vigour of his mind remained almost wholly unimpaired until the summer of 1817, when he was greatly affected by an event of a public nature. This was the resolution of a Common Hall, which was very thinly attended, purporting that this member should be invited to resign his seat in

parliament, as he was no longer capable of fulfilling its duties. Like Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Combe undoubtedly wished "to die in harness." Accordingly, his health was visibly affected by this measure; and his enfeebled constitution proved unable to surmount the shock of what he deemed not only an injury, but an insult, to a man who expected a far different return for his long and faithful services. On this occasion, he not only complied, as to his share in the representation \*, but at the same time actually resigned all his civic honours.

The subject of this memoir did not long survive this mortification, having died at Cobham Park, on the 4th July, 1818, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. In private life, Mr. Combe was a good husband, and the fond father of a very numerous family of ten children, chiefly consisting of daughters. To his eldest son he gave an excellent education at Eton, after which he placed him in his brewery, with a view of giving stability to his early habits, and instead of pursuing folly and frivolity, making him a man of business, an useful citizen, a good subject, and an opulent and independent commercial man.

In his attention to the duties of the magistracy, the Alderman was impartial and upright. His attendance, too, was constant and unremitting, while health would permit, being always ready to sacrifice his time, and even his pleasures, to the performance of his duties.

In respect to political opinions, he not unfrequently differed from the principal merchants of London, both as to the justice and mode of prosecuting the late war; but his principles were marked by decision and consistency, and he was gratified with the full and frequent approbation of his constituents, who took every opportunity of evincing their respect, gratitude, and esteem.

In his temper, he was ardent; in his practice, resolute; in his manners, frank, open, and courteous. His constitution

\* His resignation took place June 10th, 1817; and at the election for a new member, The Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor (Mr. Alderman Wood) was returned without opposition.

too, which for a long series of years was robust, enabled him to undergo fatigues which few other men were capable of enduring. With these qualities he united a vigorous understanding and a correct judgment; and it was happily observed of him, "that no man had more personal friends, or deserved them better."

The success of this gentleman in life was great and extraordinary; for, in the language of the city, he died worth "a double plumb." He seemed to flourish, indeed, while all around him was bankruptcy and ruin. Mr. Boyce Combe, his eldest son, who was nominated sole executor, on proving his will, stated his personal effects at 140,000*l.*; and having real estates to the amount of at least 60,000*l.* more, he has thus left to his family the immense sum of at least 200,000*l.*!

## No. III.

## SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE, BART.

OF TURIN, IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD; M. P. IN THE LATE  
IRISH PARLIAMENT.

THE family, of which this gentleman was a younger branch, is supposed to have come over from the continent with William the Conqueror, and to have settled at Musgrave in Westmoreland, whence they derive their appellation.\* But, although the Musgraves are of English, or rather Norman descent, a branch of them has been long settled in the sister island, where they obtained very considerable possessions.

Of these, Richard Musgrave, the subject of the present memoir, has made a considerable figure in the history of Ireland. The exact year of his birth is unknown to the writer of this narrative, but it was, most probably, about 1757 or 1758. After receiving a good education, he entered early into the world, and was speedily enabled to gratify his youthful ambition, by means of an alliance that pointed out the path both to honour and fortune. Having paid his addresses to the Honourable Deborah Cavendish† the daughter of a great heiress, descended paternally from the “Lord President Bradshaw,” as he is usually called, who presided over the tribunal that presumed to decide on the fate of Charles I., he became the husband of that lady, December 20, 1780. She was a younger daughter of the late Sarah, Baroness Waterpark in her own right, by the Right Honourable Sir Henry Cavendish, of Doveridge Hall in the county of Derby, Bart., who, for many

\* The first of this name noticed in ancient records, was Peter Musgrave, who lived during the reign of King Stephen. The present English baronet is the eighteenth or nineteenth in descent from this common ancestor.

† This lady was then Miss Deborah Cavendish, her mother not having been ennobled until many years after. *Ed.*

years, held the lucrative and important office of Receiver General in Ireland.

Mr. Musgrave now became a Member of the Irish Parliament and was strenuous in his support of government. This seat, however, was soon resigned for an acquisition of a more permanent and advantageous nature, as, soon after this alliance, he was nominated Collector of the Dublin City Excise, and created a Baronet December 2, 1782, by the style and title of Sir Richard Musgrave, of Lismore in the county of Wexford, and province of Leinster.

One event of his life is very extraordinary, and appears almost incredible to an Englishman. When acting as sheriff of his county, during a very disturbed period, a prisoner, regularly convicted by a jury, was committed to his charge for execution; but the hangman was not to be found, and no deputy could be persuaded to execute the odious office. In this state of affairs, as the sheriff's department was merely ministerial, and he was consequently obliged to obey the orders of the Judges, after making every effort in his power to find a substitute, and offering a large sum of money, by way of recompence, in vain, the subject of this memoir was reduced to the fatal necessity of completing the sentence of the law, *in propria persona*.

That he was a man unquestionably *loyal*, cannot be doubted; and, therefore, it is almost unnecessary to remark that the baronet was an uniform friend to and a most strenuous advocate for the preponderance of English councils and interests in Ireland. With an exception to the short administration of Earl Fitzwilliam, and perhaps also that of the Duke of Bedford, he was a most zealous supporter of the existing government, and even on these occasions he exhibited his political discernment, as these noblemen exercised the vice-regal power but for a very short period.

It is not without pain we recur to those unhappy times in the history of Ireland, when a large portion of her population was actually in rebellion, and a civil war ensued, during which many horrible and disgusting atrocities were perpetrated.

Soon after this insurrection was quelled, Sir Richard, who had remained firm to his principles and his duty, speedily distinguished his loyalty by a work expressly written on this subject.

So eager was the public to gratify its curiosity on this occasion, that the whole quarto edition, consisting of 1250 copies, was sold within the space of two months; another soon followed, and was exhausted, so that a third became necessary. To adopt the author's own words, "some obloquy and abuse have been levelled against this work," but these were attributed, in his "Justification," to "the malice of the Jacobins of England and Ireland." The "Papists" too, were not forgotten; and so very hostile to this sect was he, on this occasion, that he professes it to be his decided opinion, that two religions cannot exist at the same time in his native island, as in Germany. In respect to the latter country, he observes, "They are all originally of the same stock or lineage, and the religious liberty of each is guaranteed by the treaty of Munster; so that the intolerant or ambitious designs of either against the other, is completely repressed; but in Ireland, the hope of recovering the forfeited estates, and of separating her from England, constantly fomented by bigotry, keeps alive their hereditary hatred to the latter, and of course to the members of the established church from their noted loyalty, and attachment to the sister kingdom, and gives full play to the deleterious doctrines of popery, which the Irish priests never cease to foment. In short," adds he, "for these reasons, no parallel can be drawn between the popery of Ireland, and that of any other country in Europe."

Sir Richard, doubtless, gave great offence, both in England and Ireland, by his "Observations on Whipping and Free Quarters," in which he was supposed, not only to apologise for, but even to justify the application of torture by way of obtaining evidence. In short, his conduct on this particular occasion, was far from proving conciliatory, and accordingly he neither satisfied his friends nor his enemies. Indeed, the Irish Government, at length, deemed it necessary to disavow



all connection with the author; and publicly disclaimed the idea of affording him either patronage or protection in future.

As the former work, to which we again recur, is not only connected with the history of his native country, but constitutes a leading feature in the biography of our author, an analysis may not, perhaps, be here improperly annexed.

“Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland, from the arrival of the English: also a particular detail of that which broke out the 23d of May, 1798; with the history of the conspiracy that preceded it, and the characters of the principal actors in it. To this edition is added a concise history of the Reformation in Ireland; and considerations on the means of extending its advantages therein. Second Edition, Dublin, 1801. pp. 636. with Appendixes.”

We are told in a prefatory discourse, that instead of the Christian religion being introduced into Ireland by Roman missionaries in the beginning of the fifth century, it was established there by certain disciples of the Greek church. The Irish clergy, indeed, had no connection with, and did not submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff until the year 1152, when Pope Eugenius sent, by Cardinal Paparon, four palli to the archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam: when the Romish ritual was substituted in the place of the Greek, which had been previously used in the Irish church; an undoubted proof that it was independent of the Pope until that memorable epoch.

“Our excellent primate Usher,” adds he, “proves this in a most unquestionable manner, in a learned treatise on the religion of the ancient Irish, well worth the perusal of the natives of Ireland. As to celibacy, we know from Ware, that the four archbishops of Armagh, who preceded Celsus, and Celsus himself, who died 1129, were married; and not until popery was established at Cashel in 1172, was marriage interdicted.

“In the end of the twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth century, a season of midnight ignorance in Europe, the

Roman pontiff, who was regarded with superstitious reverence, claimed, and gradually acquired, a superiority, not only of spiritual, but of temporal power, over all the potentates of Europe, who considered his sanction as necessary to expiate the guilt of any crime, how heinous soever, or to promote the success of any adventure. For this reason, Henry II. solicited Pope Adrian for a bull to give him the investiture of Ireland, and in consideration of it, agreed to grant him a tax of one penny on each house in it, called Peter Pence. Adrian, in his bull, empowered Henry II. "to propagate in Ireland the righteous plantation of faith, and the branch most acceptable to God;" which meant no more, than that he should subject this kingdom to the dominion of the Pope, which, it is remarkable, was the last country in Europe that submitted to the ambitious and rapacious designs of his Holiness.

"At this day, the Roman Catholics deprecate the grant of Ireland to a foreign, and not a native prince. M'Geoghegan, although a Roman Catholic, in his history exclaims against the transaction as a violation of the rights of nations, and the most sacred laws, under the specious pretexts of religion and the reformation of manners; and he boldly adds, "could one suspect the Vicar of Christ of such gross injustice? Could one believe him capable of issuing a bull, by which an entire nation was overturned?"

On this occasion, Sir Richard Musgrave observes, "if the aboriginal Irish lament the settlement of the English in Ireland, all its loyal inhabitants have to deplore that they introduced popery into it, as it has been a constant source of disaffection, and has produced insuperable calamities in it. It is not the object nor the wish of the writer of the following pages," adds he, "to disparage Ireland, or its inhabitants, the former in point of soil and climate, the latter, in their intellectual and corporeal powers, being deservedly esteemed among the finest works of the creation; but to evince the truth of that maxim, that an *imperium in imperio*, or two separate sovereign powers, civil and ecclesiastical, cannot coexist in the same state without perpetual collision, producing discord and rebellion; and that

the only remedy for the calamities attendant on such a state is either the extinction of one power, or the milder procedure of incorporating with the other. The latter mode has been adopted in Ireland: abstract reason must approve; and experience will demonstrate the measure to be founded in the truest wisdom."

Sir Richard describes the people of Ireland as in a most deplorable state on the arrival of the English. Their numbers, indeed, according to Sir William Petty, did not exceed 300,000 souls, dispersed over more than twelve millions of acres. The country was overrun with forests, or infested with bogs; while in all the arts of civilised life, the natives were but little superior to the Indians of North America. Their *Brehon* laws were calculated to make them savage, and to keep them so, as they rendered the enjoyment of life and property insecure. Their kings, or princes, too, did not succeed each other by hereditary descent, or any fixed principles, but by force of arms.

Our Irish baronet, from these considerations, seems to think that "it was a peculiar favour from Heaven to send a civilised people among them, nor did the wiser part," adds he, "seem insensible to it; for Matth. Paris tells us that, at a council at Lismore, they gratefully received the laws of England, and swore to obey them, which included their allegiance to the Crown of England." But he himself is obliged to add, that "as soon as Henry II. returned, they rejected the laws, violated their allegiance, and ran into rebellion: which excluded them from the benefit of them."

By way of impressing a horror of the Church of Rome on his countrymen, the author now enters into an historical detail of its abuses. As the popes found themselves unable to maintain their immense power, great wealth, and extensive territories; the moment that reason had reassumed her empire they resolved, we are told, to erect a system of terror in the bosom of every state, by a device, the ingenuity of which could be equalled by nothing but its monstrous iniquity. Accordingly, Pope Innocent III., in 1215, procured certain ordi-

nances, to be agreed to by the fourth council of Lateran, purporting :

1. That heretics of every kind, against the true orthodox faith shall be condemned, and on not proving their innocence, shall be excommunicated, and their effects confiscated.

2. All secular powers shall be compelled by ecclesiastical censures, to take an oath to extirpate, within their respective territories, such of their subjects as shall be condemned as heretics by the Church ; but if any prince shall refuse, let him be excommunicated, and on omitting to make satisfaction in one year, let it be notified to the sovereign pontiff, that he may absolve his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and transfer his territories to any other catholic prince.

3. All catholics, who shall take up arms for the purpose of extirpating such heretics, shall enjoy the same indulgence, and the like holy privileges, with those who visited the Holy Land.

After a suitable comment on other doctrines, Sir Richard proceeds to exhibit the origin of the papal usurpation. For a long time, the "Bishops of Rome," continued to be elected by the people and the clergy ; and when so chosen, were consecrated by some other prelates, but not until they had first obtained the express confirmation of the Emperor. But at length, on the extinction of the race of Charlemagne, Adrian III. made a decree, declaring this to be unnecessary. In the fifth century, equal honours were decreed to the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The seat of the Western empire having been transferred to Ravenna about the year 390, this capital disputed the primacy of Italy, with Rome.

At length, that arrogant pontiff Gregory VII., raised to the popedom in the year 1073, not only claimed, but exercised the right of excommunicating and deposing sovereigns, by invoking their subjects to take arms against them. His ambitious efforts occasioned the factions of the Guelphs and Gibbelines, in Germany and Italy, which produced numberless assassinations, tumults, and convulsions, and no less than sixty pitched battles in the reign of Henry IV., and eighteen

in that of his successor Henry V., when the claims of the Roman pontiff finally prevailed.

It is to the extended power, and fatal influence of popery, that the baronet mainly attributes all the wars, feuds, and revolutions in Ireland. "Speaking a different language, and obedient to different laws, it is not to be wondered at, that the English and Irish did not cordially unite and coalesce into one people. Nothing was attempted that could materially conduce to effect this: for the operations of government were confined to pitiful experiments. The introduction of the reformed religion, by increasing the antipathy of the native Irish to the English, was a new source of calamities; for, as the Irish ecclesiastics, to whom the ignorant and bigoted people were blindly devoted, received their education in foreign seminaries, particularly in those of France and Spain, they returned to their native country solemnly bound to the Pope, in unlimited submission, without any bond of allegiance to the king, and full fraught with those absurd and pestilent doctrines which the moderate of their own communion, at least, professed to abominate: of the universal dominion of the Pope, as well spiritual as temporal, of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes, to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man, to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential difference of vice and virtue. With such impious tenets, fabricated by their schools and councils, they filled their superstitious votaries, contrary to the letter, the sense, and design of the Gospel, the writings of the apostles, and the commentaries of their successors, to the belief of the Christian Church for ten ages, and to the clearest dictates of nature."

"In that savage scene of butchery, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, planned with all the coolness of deliberation, five hundred gentlemen, and ten thousand persons of inferior rank were massacred in one night, at Paris alone, and great numbers in the provinces, because they were \* protestants.

\* Thuanus, lib. 63. sect. 14.

The Roman pontiff, on hearing of it, expressed great joy, announcing that the cardinals should return thanks to the Almighty for so signal an advantage obtained for the holy see, and that a jubilee should be observed all over Christendom.\*

“Sextus V. excommunicated Henry III. of France as a heretic, because he, contrary to his Holiness’s orders, spared the blood of his protestant subjects. And he granted nine years indulgence to such subjects as would bear arms against him; upon which Jacque Clement, a friar, assassinated him with singular treachery.”

After descanting on the objections raised against Henry IV.’s claim to the crown of France, as a heretic, the baronet insinuates that he was murdered by Ravilliac, at the instigation of the Pope, who had twice deposed him. Henry VIII. of England and his daughter Elizabeth were both deposed, without experiencing, however, a similar fate, although Robert Parsons and Edward Campion, we are told, came to England for the express purpose of plotting against the latter.

“The popes, well knowing that riches are the sinews of power, adopted the following expedient to fill their treasury, by a constant, and never failing revenue. Having first established the doctrine of purgatory, and the pains and torments attending it, the deluded sectaries of the Roman pontiff had recourse to him to be relieved from their terrors. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, an eminent Roman divine, says, that indulgences were not necessary in the first ages of the Church, and that they were not devised till the people were frightened with the torments of purgatory.

“Most of the schoolmen confess, that the use of indulgences commenced in the time of Pope Alexander III. towards the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, and from that period, until the folly and iniquity of them occasioned the reformation, the sale of them was a fruitful source of wealth to the popes. They also inflicted penalties on the commission of sin, such as rigorous fasts, bodily pains and

\* Thuanus, lib. 63, sect. 14.

mortifications, long and frequent prayers, and pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and martyrs; and as these penalties could be commuted or dispensed with for money, those who chose to lead voluptuous lives, and to continue in the course of licentious pleasure, embraced this new mode of expiation.\*

“ At length, the remission of sins became so systematic, and such a constant and regular source of revenue to the Holy See, that they were reduced to a schedule in a book of rates, with the sums corresponding, for which they were to be remitted. The reader may judge of this extraordinary work by the following short extracts :

“ A nun having committed fornication several times, shall be absolved, and enabled to hold the dignities of her order, even that of abbess, on paying 39 livres Tournois, and 9 ducats.”

“ The absolution of him who hath deflowered a virgin, gr. 6.

“ The absolution of a clerk for all acts of fornication with a nun, within or without the limits of the nunnery, or with his relations in affinity or consanguinity, or with any woman whatsoever, 36 livres.”†

“ The Roman Pontiff very wisely gave great liberty to the clergy, as they were prohibited from marrying. When celibacy, (a doctrine justly reprobated in the Scriptures, and refuted by the practice of the apostles, all of whom were married men, except Paul and John; a doctrine peculiarly unfit for the Church of Rome to teach; their founder, as they term him, and prince of the apostles, as they ridiculously call him, having exploded it by his example,) was first enforced in England. The bishops constantly granted licences to the parochial clergy to keep concubines, lest they might run into licentiousness with the wives and daughters of their parishioners.”

“ Exclusive salvation, a doctrine invented by the artful policy of the Roman pontiff, for the purpose of encouraging

\* Muratori, de redemptione peccatorum, in Antiq. Ital. Med. Sec.

† “ Every crime that human depravity can commit is inserted in this book.”

proselytes to his church, and for securing those who were already within its pale, has been a fruitful source of discord and rebellion in many countries in Europe. It is not only contrary to the doctrine of the Scriptures, but repugnant to the moral and physical perfection of the Deity, subversive of his attributes of wisdom, justice, and mercy, which are the main pillars of the divine administration; and it is likely to end in Atheism, and has already produced all its baneful effects; for any persons who can be brought to debase and disparage the Almighty, so much as to assert that He is so unwise, so unjust, and so unmerciful, as to ordain, that a very small portion of His creatures shall enjoy eternal happiness, and that the remainder shall be doomed to eternal punishment, because they differ from them in a few trifling ceremonies and tenets, will soon, probably, become Atheists. Mahomet," adds he, a little after, "inculcates the same doctrine in the Koran; and it produces the most intolerant and sanguinary principles between his votaries and other religionists."

It is on this foundation; that our author built his whole political superstructure, as will be seen by the following passage:

"When those doctrines occasioned the dethronement and the murder of so many princes; the massacre of the Albigenes and Waldenses in the thirteenth century, that of the protestants at Paris in the sixteenth, the extermination of many thousands of them in the low countries, the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the persecution of the Vaudois in the King of Sardinia's dominions, we cannot be surprised that they should have produced so many rebellions in Ireland, as her inhabitants have been plunged in the most abject ignorance, and have been blindly devoted to their priests."

It is thus obvious, according to the opinion just quoted, that all the disturbances in Ireland, for the last two or three centuries, have originated in religious disputes, totally unconnected with civil grievances; we are accordingly presented with a catalogue of insurrections, commencing with that of Shane O'Neil in Ulster, in 1567. In 1595 Hugh O'Neil raised disturbances which were continued until the end of



Elizabeth's reign; this was termed "Tyrone's rebellion," and branched into three different civil wars. On the accession of James I., the citizens of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, and Wexford, derided His Majesty's title, "for no other reason, than that he was not a catholic." Next follow the "conspiracies," of Tyrone, O'Donnel, Maguire, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, &c. In the reign of Charles I. the "popish lords," prelates, and clergy, assembled at Kilkenny, and regulated their proceedings according to the forms and solemnity of a parliament.

We now come to more modern events, and under the head of "Origin of the White Boys," we learn that the epoch of their appearance was 1759, during the administration of a former Duke of Bedford. They consisted of the lower class of Roman Catholics, and acquired their appellation from being dressed in white uniforms. They met in Munster, in 1762, in bodies of from 500 to 2000, and the pretexts for assembling were as follows:

1. The illegal enclosure of commons.
2. The extortions exercised by the Proctors.
3. The exorbitant fees exacted by their own clergy.

After being subdued by a military force, Sir Richard Aston was sent to try some of the ringleaders. On this occasion, we are assured, that the late Edmund Burke "sent his brother Richard, who died recorder of Bristol, and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a mission to Munster, to levy money on the popish body for the use of the White Boys, who were exclusively papists."

We are next told, that all our disgraces and misfortunes are to be found in *the history of our penal laws and in the feeble execution of them*; and it is added that about the year 1773, that system of conciliation and concession, which laid the foundation of the late rebellion, began."

"Origin of the Volunteers." In the year 1779, when England was involved in a war with the French, Spaniards, and Americans; when the combined naval fleet of the enemy was superior, in point of number, to the Channel fleet; when con-

stant and well-grounded apprehensions were entertained that Ireland would be invaded; the loyalty of her parliament, trembling for the fate of the empire, left the kingdom almost destitute of any military force for its defence. At the same time what little commerce she then enjoyed, was completely stagnated by privateers, which constantly hovered on her coast. In this critical juncture, some maritime towns, dreading that they might be plundered by the latter, applied to government for a military force for their defence; but received an answer, that they must arm and defend themselves. This gave rise to the volunteers." The baronet candidly allows, that these military associations deterred the French from attempting an invasion of the kingdom, which they meditated at that time; while they at the same time completely preserved the peace of the country, having not only exhibited the greatest respect to the laws, but the utmost zeal in enforcing the execution of them. Notwithstanding this, he maintains it to be an established maxim of civil polity, "that no power should be allowed to exist within a state capable of overawing or overturning it."

At length, in 1782, delegates from 143 corps of the province of Ulster, assembled at Dungannon, and entered into certain resolutions, which were soon adopted by all the volunteer *corps*, and grand juries of the kingdom. In October, 1783, delegates from the *corps* of the province of Leinster were convoked at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, when a reform of parliament, and the admission of Roman Catholics to the elective franchise were proposed; soon after which, a grand national convention of volunteer delegates from all Ireland assembled, and entered into deliberations respecting a plan for new modelling the constitution.

It is not the intention, we are told, of the author, whose work is now before us, to censure an assembly of men actuated by the generous design of improving the constitution, and of diffusing the blessings of civil liberty as extensively as possible. Yet, "it is to be lamented," adds he, "that such assemblies and their discussions, taught the mass of the people to speculate on politics, and as they cannot distinguish sophistry from

truth, prepared their minds for the reception of those deleterious doctrines which produced the rebellion." "In short," observes Sir Richard, soon after, "it will appear that from the year 1782, when our constitution was supposed to have arrived at the summit of perfection, an immoderate and alarming spirit of innovation, which ultimately produced the rebellion, never ceased to break forth, both in and out of Parliament; and that Mr. Grattan and his adherents, who piqued themselves on being the chief authors of the constitution of 1782, were the principal promoters of that very spirit of innovation, which shook the pillars of the throne in 1798, desolated some of the most fertile portions of Ireland, and aimed at its separation from England."

"The Peep-of-day Boys," were Presbyterians; and the "Defenders," Catholics: their feuds are said to have originated in a private quarrel. "The passions of both parties being very much inflamed, they never missed an opportunity of exercising hostilities against each other, which frequently terminated in the commission of murder. A detail of their battles would be as interesting as that of the kites and crows." We are told "that the people of Lurgan and its vicinity were remarkably quiet during the heat and frenzy of the insurgents, because it abounds with Protestants of the Established Church; *the only sect uniformly attached to the constitution.*"

Out of these feuds arose the "Orangemen;" for in commemoration of the battle of Diamond, fought in the county of Armagh, in the month of September, 1795, "and the duplicity and treachery of the Romanists on that occasion," the first Orange lodge was formed. "They were a society of loyal Protestants," observes our author, "associated and bound together solely for the purpose of maintaining and defending the constitution in Church and State, as established by the Prince of Orange, at the glorious Revolution, which they regarded as a solemn and sacred duty. It confers distinguished credit on its members, and they united, and stood forward for this truly patriotic purpose, unsupported and unprotected by

the great and the powerful, to whom their motives were misrepresented by traitors, who knew that the institution would form a firm barrier against their nefarious machinations. I have universally observed, that the disaffected, who arraigned with the utmost severity the Orange Societies, never uttered any censure on the committees of assassination, to whom so many loyal men fell a sacrifice."

Another institution, that of the "Catholic Committee," next passes in review; and it appears that this society was founded so far back as the year 1757, by Charles O'Connor, the Irish antiquary, while Dr. Curry, and Mr. Wyn, of Waterford, first established it in the city of Dublin. The original subscribers consisted of seven only, but the numbers soon increased. Their object was to assemble and determine, with the greatest secrecy, on the best and most likely means of procuring a restoration of those privileges which they had been formerly deprived of.

At length, members were duly elected, and regularly returned by towns and districts throughout the greater portion of the kingdom; gentlemen of landed estate had a right to sit there, and they at length began to regulate their proceedings according to the forms and solemnity of a parliament. It appears indeed, by a resolution, on the 15th day of November, 1783, Sir Patrick Bellew in the chair, that they considered themselves "as the sole medium, for several years past, through which the voice of the Roman Catholics of Ireland has been conveyed, and the only one competent thereto." In 1792, "a Popish convention," or "Back-lane parliament," as it is here styled, having met in Dublin, framed a petition to the king, praying for a redress of grievances, and transmitted the same by five delegates, and they actually succeeded so far as to obtain a repeal of many of the penal statutes then in force against them.

If full credit be given to the assertions of our author, it will appear that the affairs of the Catholic committee were managed with great art and ability." "Knowing that Edmund Burke, a warm favourer of Popery, had in a high

degree conciliated the esteem of our most gracious Sovereign, and the government of Ireland, by his ingenious and energetic writings against the extravagant theories and frantic proceedings of the French republicans, they resolved to employ his son, an overweening, petulant young man, to be their agent in forwarding their pretensions; hoping thereby to ensure the weight and consideration of his father, for that purpose.

“ They then sent one of their body to London, in September, 1791, to Mr. Richard Burke, who, through his father, rendered them most important services; and soon after, having gone to Ireland, he made a most extensive circuit there, and in the course of it visited many of the nobility and gentry, and endeavoured to conciliate them to support the claims of the Roman Catholics. As he was their hired agent, we are not to impute his conduct to disinterested and generous motives, though we may infer that he had a predilection for popery, from the strong attachment his father had to it, and because his mother was a most rigid Papist. Though he did not obtain the object of his mission, he awakened the ambition of the Roman Catholics, and gave them the strongest assurances that a steady perseverance in their claims would finally produce a repeal of the Popery laws. “ As a very large sum of money,” adds Sir Richard, soon after, “ had been levied on the Roman Catholics, it is not improbable that their ambassador, who repaired to London in the year 1791, applied, with the assistance of Mr. Burke, a large portion of it to very good purposes; for otherwise how can we account for the extraordinary and sudden change which took place in the administration of England? A change which has been fatal to the peace and security of Ireland.”

Theobald Wolfe Tone, a barrister of considerable talents, but far from being independent in his circumstances, is said to have been the leader of the “ United Irishmen.” The first society of this description assembled at Belfast, in October 1791, and it is here boldly asserted, that assurances were given to

the "Republicans of Belfast," provided they came forward as a Protestant body, in behalf of their rights, "that the Catholic committee, and such of their persuasion as they could influence, should co-operate with them, in subverting the constitution."

The arrival of Earl Fitzwilliam, as viceroy, tended for a while to conciliate the Irish; but they became greatly alarmed at his sudden recall, more especially as they were thereby precluded from hoping for that extension of their franchises, they had been taught to expect. During the government of Lord Camden many commotions ensued, and the gaols were full of prisoners. The following summary and irregular mode of emptying them is greatly praised by our author: "This year (1795) the sum applied for to the grand jury, by different persons, who suffered in the county of Meath, from the enormities committed by the Defenders, such as houghing cattle, and plundering and burning houses, amounted to 1700*l*."

"Lord Carhampton, finding that the laws were silent, and inoperative in the counties which he visited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable subjects, who in most places were obliged to fly from their habitations, resolved to restore them to their usual energy, by the following salutary system of severity: in each county he assembled the most respectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges against the leaders of the banditti, who were in prison, but defied justice, he, with the concurrence of those gentlemen, sent the most nefarious of them on board a tender stationed at Sligo, to serve in the king's troops, and not in the navy, as has been falsely asserted. By this bold measure, founded in obvious principles of political necessity, he completely restored peace in the disturbed counties. The loyal inhabitants, and the grand juries in them, thanked Lord Carhampton for his wise and salutary exertions; but the disaffected in every part of the kingdom, exasperated that he had checked the progress of their revolutionary schemes, raised a great clamour in consequence of it; and as they meditated many prosecutions and

civil actions against him, a law was passed in the month of February, 1796, to indemnify such persons as had exceeded the limits of the law, in restoring peace and good order; which, as a matter of course, was violently opposed by the minority in the House of Commons."

In 1796 an act passed, we are told, and is still in force, the principal enactments of which are,

1. That all arms shall be registered, and any magistrate may search for arms the house of any person who shall not do so.

2. If any county, or any parts thereof, be disturbed, the magistrates may notify it to the Privy Council, who are thereupon required to proclaim the disturbed part: on which the magistrates are enjoined to hold petty sessions as often as necessary, but never at a longer interval than fourteen days; and to punish offenders in a summary way.

3. All persons are required by it, when the county or barony has been proclaimed, to keep within their houses between sun-set and sun-rise; and are liable to be transported (without the intervention of a jury), if found out of their houses in the night.

This bill, which was introduced by the Attorney-General of that day, has been the subject of much animadversion in England; and, indeed, must be considered as a novelty in legislation. But we are here assured, "that to its salutary coercion, we may justly impute the salvation of the kingdom. Every person acquainted with the ferocious and sanguinary disposition of the lower class of people in Ireland," adds he, "will agree with me, that this *wise law* should never be repealed. It is inoperative, and cannot be enforced until the emergency of the times calls for it; and of this the magistrates of the county, and Privy Council, are proper judges. The removal of the Irish Parliament to England, in consequence of the Union, makes it peculiarly necessary that this law should remain unrepealed; for, from the spirit of insurrection and rapacity of the common people in Ireland, an

entire province may be desolated before proper laws could be enacted in the Imperial Parliament to check it.

“The common Irish,” it is added, “are doctrinally taught that they are bound by their religion to resist the laws and ordinances of a Protestant state; and that an oath of allegiance is null and void; for which reason they uniformly oppose the administration of justice. A monster, stained with the blood of his father, must be led to the gallows by a military guard. But in England, the mass of the people unite in enforcing the execution of the laws, because they know that the preservation of their lives and property depend on it. The late rebellion, as well as the former one, evince, that the lower classes of the Irish do not consider it a crime to injure the person or property of a Protestant fellow-subject.”

Under the head of “Military Organization,” we are told that this was regulated in the following manner, by the insurgents: The secretary of each subordinate society, composed of twelve, appointed their petty or non-commissioned officer; the delegate officer from societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly appointed captain of a company, consisting of the five societies who delegated him, and who made up the number of sixty privates; while the delegate of ten “lower baronials,” to the upper or district committee, was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, consisting of 600. The colonels of battalions in each county sent in the names of three persons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant-general of the county, and whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officers of the revolutionary staff.

The executive directory, we are told, although desirous of obtaining assistance from France, were unwilling to admit such a body of troops into Ireland, as would enable a foreign nation to conquer and retain it; while their new allies showed a decided inclination to send an army of such mag-



nitude as might in the end achieve its complete conquest and subjugation! A fleet, with a body of troops on board, was accordingly prepared in the Texel; but the soldiers were soon after disembarked; and it was a circumstance not a little fortunate for England, that during the most furious period of the insurrection which soon after ensued, no succours arrived from France.

Meanwhile the disaffected continued to arm, and extend their connections. They appear to have succeeded in a certain degree, in corrupting a portion of the regular troops, while themselves and their adherents amounted to no inconsiderable body, in respect to numbers.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster, a nobleman who had acquired a high reputation for his talents, spirit, and enterprise, appears to have been the great ostensible leader. In 1798, every thing seemed ripe for action, for in the beginning of that year, this nobleman presented a paper to a person, who has since attained a high degree of notoriety, purporting to be a return to a national committee, a few days before, stating the armed insurgents in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, to amount to 279,896 persons. This appears a great numerical strength in respect to men; but their treasury was miserably defective, as the sum total contained in it amounted to no more than 1485*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

“ This dreadful conspiracy,” which aimed at the destruction of Ireland, its separation from England, and consequently the subversion of the British empire, was discovered and defeated, we are told, in the following manner, by the wisdom and mercy of Providence. Mr. Thomas Reynolds, of the county of Kildare, where he had numerous and respectable connections, was bred to the business of a silk manufacturer, which he followed very extensively for many years in the city of Dublin; but having acquired a landed property at Kilca Castle, in his native county, he retired, and resided there, some years previously to the rebellion, and had considerable influence among the Romanists. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conspiracy, having,

for these reasons, considered him a proper person to assist in forwarding their treasonable designs, practised every art of seduction to attach him to their cause; and having at last succeeded, he was sworn a United Irishman at the house of Oliver Bond, in the beginning of the year 1797; was induced to accept the commission of colonel, the offices of treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and, at last, that of delegate for the province of Leinster.

“ Soon after he was raised to this elevated situation in the union, having discovered that the conspirators, instead of intending to reform the abuses of the state, and to abolish all religious distinctions, which was their professed object at first, meditated the subversion of the constitution, the massacre of the leading members of the government, and of such persons as should oppose their designs; he resolved to defeat them, by embracing the first opportunity of communicating them to some person in whom he could confide.

“ He had a very great friendship and respect for Mr. Cope, an eminent merchant of the city of Dublin, who, having lamented to him, in the course of conversation, the crimes and atrocities which were constantly committed, and which were undoubted symptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds, upon whom this conversation made a very deep impression, said that he knew a person connected with the United Irishmen, who, he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them. Mr. Cope assured him that such a person would obtain the highest honours and pecuniary rewards that the administration could confer; and that he would be admired and applauded by the most virtuous and valuable portion of society. But Mr. Reynolds said, that nothing could tempt him to come forward and avow himself.

“ However, after the most earnest and pressing solicitations made on the part of Mr. Cope, for whom he had filial reverence, he said that his friend would appear in person, and

disclose the particulars of the plot, on the following conditions :

“ That he should not prosecute any United Irishman; that the channel through which the information came should be kept a secret at least for a time; that as his life would be in danger upon its being known, and he must leave the country, and go to England till matters were settled, which would derange his affairs, and put him to considerable expense, he expected to receive some compensation.

“ Mr. Cope then told him, that he might draw on him for any sum not exceeding 500 guineas. Whereupon he told Mr. Cope, that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's on the 12th of March, to concert measures for an insurrection, which was shortly to take place; but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from himself; but insinuated that it was imparted by a third person.

“ In consequence of this, Justice Swan, attended by twelve serjeants in coloured clothes, arrested the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, while sitting in council at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge Street, on the 12th of March, 1798, and seized, at the same time, the papers, which led to a discovery of the plot and the intended insurrection: and on the same day, Thomas A. Emmett, a barrister; William James M'Nevin; Messrs. Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackson, and Hugh Jackson were seized; and warrants were granted against Lord Henry Fitzgerald, Richard M'Cormick, and Counsellor Samson, who were all leaders in the conspiracy; but the three last made their escape.

“ On the 30th of March, the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation, giving the most positive and direct orders to the officers commanding His Majesty's forces, to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for suppressing the traitorous conspiracy for the destruction of the constitution and the established government which broke out into acts of open violence and rebellion.

“ On the 6th of May, Mr. Reynolds was arrested at Castle-Dermot by a party of the military, and conveyed a prisoner to

Dublin. On the 8th of the same month, the United Irishmen having discovered, by some means or other, that he had revealed, and in a great measure defeated, their machinations, formed many plots against his life. He therefore found it necessary to put himself under the protection of Government, who provided him with apartments in the castle. As the members of the Union, during his residence there, circulated the most infamous calumnies against his character, he resolved, in its vindication, to bring these miscreants to condign punishment, and to disclose the whole of their plots, and to prosecute them."

Soon after this, a rebellion of a very formidable nature burst forth, and the capital itself was more than once in danger of being in possession of the insurgents. On this, martial law was proclaimed, and the troops entrusted to the command of Lieutenant-General Lake.

Our author here gives a detailed account of the attacks upon Naas, Prospectus, Clare, and Ballymore-Eustace; the insurrection at Kildare, the various skirmishes that took place at Rathangan, Kilcullen, Carlow, Kilcock; the insurrections near Athy and Narraghmore, and the battle of Tara: after which he mentions the state of the metropolis, the inhabitants of which appear to have been greatly disaffected. The following is a character of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who died in jail, in consequence of the wounds he received while attempting to prevent his arrest.

"Lord Edward had served with reputation in the 19th regiment, during a great part of the American war; and, on many occasions, had displayed great valour and considerable abilities as an officer. When in the army, he was considered as a man of honour and humanity, and was much esteemed by his brother-officers for his frankness, courage, and good-nature, — qualities which he was supposed to possess in a very high degree. After the war, he retired on the half-pay list; but having again entered into the service, he obtained the majority of the 57th regiment, quartered at St. John's, Newfoundland, on the bay of Fundy, and joined it in May, 1788.

“The following adventure is a strong proof of that active mind, and enterprising spirit, which he displayed on all occasions. He set out from Frederick Town, on the river St. John, for Quebec, in the winter of 1788, through woods and desarts which never before had been traversed by any European, and without any other attendant than Captain Brisbane, of his regiment, a guide, and his own servant, who was a negro. From the great depth of snow, they were obliged to use snow shoes; and they had no other provisions but what they carried on a sledge, which Lord Edward drew in his turn. The journey, which was some hundred miles, took them many weeks to perform.

“In the month of November, 1791, the regiment landed at Portsmouth, where Lord Edward received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce, of the same *corps*, from Naples, acquainting him that he was in a rapid consumption, and advising him to take proper measures for succeeding him; but as his Lordship and his family were at that time in opposition in Parliament, he would not solicit a favour from Government; but at the same time expected that the commission would have been given to him without solicitation, though he had many competitors of longer standing.

“On hearing that Colonel Short succeeded to the commission, Lord Edward, soured with disappointment, and fired with indignation, repaired to Paris in the latter end of the year 1791, or the beginning of the year 1792, and became, from disgust, an enthusiastic admirer of the extravagant political theories of the French, which were repugnant and subversive of the glorious constitution under which he lived, but of whose defects he pretended to be a reformist; and having manifested these principles without reserve, His Majesty thought proper to strike his name out of the army; but allowed him, at the same time, to sell his commission.

“He became so great a devotee to the French principles, that he married a little Frenchwoman whose birth,\* and origin

\* “She was supposed to be the natural daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, by Madame de Genlis.”

were unknown, except by conjecture, and who had nothing to recommend her to him but the extravagance and malignity of her republican principles.

“The fate of Lord Edward Fitzgerald affords a strong and instructive lesson to such gentlemen as oppose the Crown from motives of disgust and disappointed ambition, not to exceed the bounds of moderation; for a person, inflamed and blinded by resentment, may, from an insatiable desire to gratify it, gradually sink into a dereliction of every religious, moral, and political duty, and a vehement reformist is often an incipient traitor.

“*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*”

We now come to the “rebellion in the county of Wicklow. We are assured, that previously to the introduction of the principles of the United Irishmen in 1796, this was the most peaceable district in the whole kingdom. The war is here said to have been “purely religious,” this consideration alone actuating the body of the people: the hope of plunder was merely “an additional encouragement.” The Romish clergy were deeply engaged in it; and the “old obsolete Popish holydays were revived, in order to give the seditious more frequent opportunities of assembling.”

“Rebellion in the county of Wexford.” Here the insurrection appears to have been general. It was preceded “with much hypocrisy,” according to our author, who mentions “the deep disguise of the Popish multitude and their priests.” It was the intention of the Irish Directory, that the insurrection should take place at one and the same time all over Ireland; but the arrest of the conspirators at Oliver Bond’s disconcerted this scheme. At length this measure was resolved upon by the remaining leaders at Dublin, but was not communicated to the Wexford chiefs until some time after; and as a certain period was necessary in order to apprise the different captains, the insurgents in the county of Wexford did not take the field until the 27th of May, 1798. For a time they were triumphant: a large body of them, headed by Father John Murphy, cut off a detachment of the North Cork

Militia; and soon after this the city of Wexford fell into their hands. Notwithstanding this, they were routed at the battle of Ross; and the "massacre of Scullabogue," which took place on the same day, and the cruelties committed on the bridge of Wexford, are just and legitimate subjects of execration.

At length, General Lake attacked the principal camp at Vinegar Hill, which was assuredly a very strong and commanding position. From the numbers of the enemy, the height and steepness of the ascent, together with its frequent intersections by enclosures, the rebels were at first completely protected from the fire of the advancing columns: although their numbers were immense, and they possessed thirteen pieces of ordnance, well supplied with ammunition, yet they were speedily dislodged and driven away. On this, the main body retreated to Wexford, under the command of Father John Murphy, Father Kearns the priest, Anthony Perry, Edward Fitzgerald, and John Hay. Another column, headed by Rooke, a priest, John Hay, and a person called Murphy, made a retrograde motion towards the county of Kilkenny.

Under the head of "Rebellion in the counties of Mayo and Sligo," we learn that certain prophecies, widely disseminated, had a great effect on the minds of the common people, who were firmly persuaded that the events so confidently predicted must necessarily come to pass; and they were ready to catch at every rumour which seemed to correspond with the ideas which they had inspired. "They breathed nothing but death, bloodshed, and devastation; painted the rivers as running crimson with blood, and a pestilence raging through the country, occasioned by the effluvia of putrid carcases, which remained unburied, with every other horror which a dreadful civil war produces. Such prophecies were one of the many artifices used to instil hatred in the Popish multitude against Protestants, who were figured under the title of *The Black Army*, and were destined to commit these atrocities against the Catholics, and to furnish a pretext of massacring them whenever an opportunity should present itself."

On the other hand, the most bitter and inveterate enemies of the adherents to the Church of Rome are here treated with peculiar favour and indulgence. Orange Societies had at that time commenced in the North. The avowed object of these was to protect themselves and their country from the machinations of a "set of Popish traitors, who had bound themselves by the most sacred and solemn ties to overturn the constitution and extirpate the Protestants; and that in so secret a manner, that many thousands were united before a discovery could be obtained. In their secret meetings, which were generally held at night, the Romanists, we are told, methodised their operations, employed emissaries to propagate their doctrines, collected money for the purchase of arms and ammunition, laid plans for attacking the houses of Protestants and taking away their arms, and finally concerted the means of a general rebellion and massacre, in conjunction with the rebels of every other part of the kingdom.

"The gentlemen and magistrates of the county were well aware that such mischiefs were hatching, but found it very difficult to procure full and convincing proofs to substantiate the facts, so as to bring the traitors to punishment. It was in this critical state of things, that the spirit and promptitude of the Orangemen, alive to the interests of their country, and attached to the constitution for which their ancestors fought under King William, associated under the strongest bonds of loyalty and affection, and relying on the goodness of the cause in which they had embarked, they, without fear or restraint, hunted the traitors to their dens, developed their dark proceedings, and dragged them to punishment. By their well-timed and spirited exertions, they delivered that part of the kingdom from those horrors which were ready to burst upon the heads of the loyal inhabitants. This was the persecution which the disaffected so much complained of, and which afforded a plausible pretext for the outrages afterwards committed by the rebels.

"The peasantry of the counties of Mayo and Sligo (I mean those of the Roman Catholic persuasion) are savage, ignorant,



and superstitious; and though they were organised, and sworn to assist the French on their landing, yet I am convinced that they would not have had spirit or resolution enough to rise in rebellion, if that event had not taken place, however well-inclined they might have been. The gentlemen and men of landed property, with but few exceptions, were Protestants of the Church of England, and consequently loyal, and strongly attached to the established government. To these were added an equally loyal and very respectable Protestant yeomanry, mostly freeholders, and planted rather thickly over the country. All these were tolerably expert in the use of arms, having served in the volunteer and yeomanry corps."

They however appear to have been incapable of overawing and restraining "an ignorant and unarmed rabble, without men of property or consequence at their head," from immediately joining the French on their landing. One circumstance, hitherto unnoticed, contributed not a little to the general defection: this was the propagation of the mysteries of the Carmelites among the Roman Catholics. At their initiation, the candidates received a square piece of brown cloth, with the letters J. H. S. (Jesus Hominum Salvator) inscribed on it, which was hung around the neck with a string, and lying on the shoulder next to the skin, was, from its situation termed a *scapular*. This distinguished badge of the order, which cost only one shilling to the poorer class, after receiving the priest's benediction, was supposed to contain the virtue of preserving the disciple from all outward danger. The ignorance and credulity of the benighted multitude were imposed on by a gross device, which possessed all the effect of a miracle, for after the benediction it was committed to the flames, and was afterwards taken out, whole and entire. But the secret that the cloth was composed of *asbestos*, one of the properties of which is to resist fire, was carefully concealed. The parish priests in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, perceiving the sale of scapulars to be very profitable, solicited a power from the friars to dispose of them, and at the same time to admit candidates into this holy order. Bags of them were accordingly

sent to fairs, and sold to the credulous multitude, previously to the 22d of August, 1798, when three French frigates appeared in the bay of Killala, from which a body of troops was immediately disembarked, and took possession of that place. Soon after this, they marched under General Humbert, accompanied by a rabble, some of whom were dressed in foreign uniforms, and advanced to Castlebar. Having taken possession of that town after a skirmish, in which they proved victorious, their cause appeared to be triumphant.

The invaders are greatly praised for the moderation displayed by them, as well as for the manner in which they restrained their allies.

“The French eat the best of meat and bread, drank wine, beer, and coffee, and slept on good beds. They compelled the rebels to eat potatoes, drink whiskey, and sleep on straw. They beat and abused them like dogs, in the name of liberty, equality, fraternity, and unity. A volume would not contain an account of the brutal actions of the rebels; and the women who were worse than the men, carried off hides, tallow, beef, cloth, and various other articles.”

At length a considerable army having been collected, Lord Cornwallis and General Lake advanced in two distinct columns against the enemy. On this a retreat took place, which produced a close pursuit, and the French having been overtaken, were finally forced to surrender. Many of the insurgents were seized and executed on this occasion; but in the beginning of September, 1798, a general pardon, with very few exceptions, was published, an act of policy and of clemency, which does not appear to have entirely satisfied our author.

“It is to be lamented,” observes he, at the conclusion, “that at this time the Popish multitude are as much fraught with disaffection as ever, though they are still smarting from the former rebellion, and though the royal mercy has been extended to them in a very extraordinary degree. It might be said, that I have gone far in exposing the errors of Popery, and have been severe upon them, but it should be

recollected that the Popish clergy never cease to represent the Protestant religion as a pestilent heresy, which brings the frowns of the Almighty on its votaries in this life, and dooms them to eternal damnation hereafter, and this not only orally, but by various publications, some of which I shall mention; one of them, entitled "Fifty reasons why the holy Roman Catholic religion ought to be preferred to all the sects in Christendom," contains the following extracts: "They (the Protestant ministers) are not priests, since they have not power to consecrate in the Eucharist, *nor to forgive sins*, which is yet the main office of priestly dignity," p. 80.

"Heretics themselves confess that the Roman Catholics may be saved, whereas these maintain there is no salvation for such as are out of the Roman Catholic church. What madness then were it, for any man not to go over to the Roman Catholics, who may be saved in the judgment of their adversaries, &c. &c.

"What can be expected from a rabble," exclaims Sir Richard, "drenched with the inebriating poison of such productions, but treason, robbery, and assassination!"

It has been already stated, that the present publication was not at all pleasing to government. The truth is, that it proved both unsuitable and unseasonable. Mr. Pitt and the English cabinet, a considerable time before this, had conceived the idea of a union with Ireland, and all their measures were very properly directed towards this most important point. It was with this view, that a speedy end had been put to the violent operations of martial law and free quarters; and the Marquis Cornwallis having been sent over with the olive branch, the benevolent and paternal viceroyship of that amiable nobleman, tended not a little to conciliate the nation.

Sir Richard Musgrave and his doctrines being now exceedingly unpopular, he was attacked in his turn by writers of all parties. Protestants and Catholics, both in England and Ireland, wished to render him odious; and the latter part of his life was doubtless tormented with these hostile attacks.

Indeed, it would have occupied a large portion of the remainder of his existence to have read and to have answered the numerous books, pamphlets, and periodical essays in which he was daily and sometimes grossly assailed. To two of his adversaries, and two only, did he think fit to reply; they were both men of some rank and estimation in Ireland. \*

In private life, Sir Richard Musgrave was greatly esteemed and respected. Indeed, he was capable both of friendship and kindness; he loved and he practised hospitality; his tongue was sometimes eloquent at the festive board, in praise of good men of all denominations; and it was only while the *pen* was in his hand, and his mind agitated with the occurrences of the day, that he displayed a spirit of bitterness, seldom to be equalled, and scarcely ever surpassed in modern times.

This baronet died at his house in Holles-street, Dublin, on April 7th, 1818, and having no male issue by his lady, the title, according to the provisions of the patent, has descended to his brother, now Sir Christopher Musgrave.

*List of the Works  
Of the late Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.*

1. A Letter on the present situation of public affairs, 8vo. 1794.
2. Considerations on the present state of England and France, 8vo. 1796.
3. Short view of the political situation of the Northern Powers, 8vo. 1801.
4. Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland, from the arrival of the English, with a particular detail of that which broke out in 1798, 4to. 1801. 2d ed. with appendix, 4to. 1801. 3d ed. 2 vols. 8vo. 1802.
5. Observations on the reply of Dr. Caulfield, 8vo. 1802.
6. Observations on Dr. Drumgoole's speech, at the Catholic Board, December 8, 1813. 8vo. 1814.

\* The Doctors Drumgoole and Caulfield.

## No. IV.



JOHN PALMER, Esq.

LATE COMPTROLLER-GENERAL OF THE POST-OFFICE, AND  
M.P. FOR THE CITY OF BATH.

THE name of this gentleman has been long before the public, and during a period of more than half a century was constantly advancing into repute and respectability. With a versatility of character, joined to a degree of ability that falls to the lot of but few, we behold him, now governing a theatre,—now giving laws to the General Post-Office. Thus, the same man who at one period of his life superintended the dramatic amusements of the gayest city in the empire, at another was busied in projecting a new system of mails, aiding commerce by the accelerated rapidity of his contrivances, and at length accomplishing and perfecting his grand original plan to facilitate the intercourse, not only between different parts of the kingdom, but with all the nations of the universe.

John Palmer was born at Bath, in the year 1742. His father was a respectable brewer in that city; and the maiden name of his mother, Miss Long, descended from an old and respectable family, which had been settled there for more than a century. The boy was sent at a very early age to Coleme, a village at some little distance from the place of his birth, for the express purpose of being educated under the Rev. Mr. Needham. While there, he not only displayed an uncommon degree of sprightliness, but an extraordinary aptitude for learning; which was not always accompanied, however, with the inclination to excel, although he fully possessed the ability.

When young Palmer had acquired some knowledge of the classics, he was removed to the public school at Marlborough, annexed to which there are certain valuable scholarships and exhibitions, which enable the higher class of pupils, when duly qualified, to repair on very easy terms either to Oxford or Cambridge. These advantages were carefully pointed out by a relation, the Rev. Mr. Palmer, who recommended the church as a profession, and in both of these plans the father most readily joined; he wished his offspring to be freed from the embarrassments and difficulties attendant upon trade, and longed above all things to behold his son John in holy orders.

His son John, however, *longed to be an officer*; and it is not a little remarkable, that this same propensity, as if hereditary, devolved on his two grandsons, one of whom has risen to an honourable station as a field-officer in the army, and another to the rank of a post-captain in the navy. But the old gentleman proved inexorable; and, as the subject of this memoir was accustomed to observe, "after a stout contention between the sword and the surplice, it proved a *drawn battle*."

As it was necessary, however, that he should be something, and as he would not consent to become a clergyman, he was destined to be a brewer. With this view, his father removed him, when scarcely fourteen years of age, to his own counting-house, which proved a fresh subject of complaint; for by this

time he had taken a great fancy to hunting, as his reverend relation kept a small pack of hounds, and occasionally mounted his cousin during a holiday on one of his own horses. To quit such a scene of amusement for the drudgery of mercantile concerns, to abandon all ideas of a scarlet coat and the command of a regiment for the enumeration of casks of beer, and the superintendence of draymen, was a most miserable falling off; and accordingly he bitterly lamented his destiny for many years after.

At first, young Palmer exhibited an equal degree of contempt and negligence in respect to business, which produced bitter reproaches on the part of his parents; but he at length altered his plan, and betook himself to his daily avocations with a degree of zeal and assiduity that had nearly proved fatal. A timely retreat into the country, however, restored him to his wonted health; and soon after his return to Bath, a new and important event occurred, which, by affording employment to his talents, and giving a new direction to his pursuits, banished for ever all the ideas so long and so fondly cherished of a military life.

Bath, which had even then outstripped every provincial city and town in the empire, and in many points of view was deemed preferable as a residence even to the metropolis itself, still proved deficient in one essential requisite for a place of entertainment. From the first appearance of Garrick, the histrionic art began to be cultivated in England with great attention, and new theatres were every where erected for the accommodation of the public. At Bath, however, an old, mouldering, ruinous building, had been converted to this use, although wholly unsuitable for a genteel audience, and at the same time utterly inconvenient to the actors themselves.

To remedy this glaring defect, ten of the principal inhabitants determined to erect a new and elegant play-house, on the most solemn assurances that the proprietors of the old one, who pretended to be actuated solely by the good of the city, would instantly apply their premises to some other purpose the moment that the new building was completed; but no sooner

did this occur, than the old play-barn was re-opened, and a most violent opposition, equally fatal to both parties, immediately took place. The partners of the new house, disheartened by continual losses and disputes, now withdrew one by one; on which, the senior Mr. Palmer, who was a complete man of business, immediately conceived the notion of taking the whole under his own immediate management. He accordingly purchased all the remaining shares on very easy terms, and completed the whole by granting an annuity to his adversary. From this moment all opposition ceased, and the new theatre became the sole point of attraction.

The wonderful increase of the city of Bath, which of course produced an influx of company, made this species of property every day more valuable. But that very circumstance rendered the prosperity of the theatre precarious; for being situate in the old town, it was of course at a considerable distance from the new buildings, and the proprietors of these began already to conceive the idea of erecting one for themselves. In addition to this, the new house was still unprotected by law, as a very severe act of parliament at that time existed against the public exhibition of dramatic performances.

The poor actor, also, to adopt the humiliating language of Churchill, was actually deemed a vagrant, and consequently

“ Of the beadle’s lash afraid !”

The manager, too, when he travelled along with his company of comedians, from town to town, was not unfrequently obliged

“ To cringe, for wretched means of life,

“ To madame may’ress, or his worship’s wife.”

Nay, the very prerogative of the crown was so strictly limited, as to be precluded from granting any future patent or licence beyond those already in existence for Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden.

His Majesty himself, therefore, had he been so disposed, had it not in his power to extend his protection to the theatre at



Bath ; so that an act of parliament could alone guarantee the proprietor from hazard, and secure the personal safety of the performers from the penalties then most unjustly annexed to their profession.

To obtain these desirable ends, the elder Mr. Palmer presented a petition to both houses of parliament, which was warmly supported by the corporation, partly with a view of benefiting the city, and partly with a wish to gratify an old friend. His son John was selected on this occasion to solicit the act, and for this purpose, he immediately repaired to London. Although scarcely a man in point of years, he had uniformly distinguished himself by his vigour, ability, and perseverance ; while a recent event had contributed not a little to his reputation. Arthur, the contemporary and friend of Garrick, and then acting manager of the theatre, had been most unjustly attacked by Derrick, the master of the ceremonies. To repel a wanton accusation, he published two letters in the Bath Journal, which restored one party to the public favour, and assigned the other to disgrace.

Flushed with this successful effort of his "maiden pen," his zeal and good conduct during his residence in the metropolis, procured him so many friends, that on this occasion also, he proved victorious. Accordingly after the lapse of two or three months, he returned home armed with a double authority ; for in addition to an act of parliament, he had obtained all the splendour arising out of a patent, which conferred the title of Theatre Royal.\*

Immediately after this, he was entrusted with the superintendence and direction of it. One might have supposed that this alone would have proved sufficient to occupy all his attention. But he was young, and his mind was active and vigorous, so that he was enabled, even at this early period, to carry a new project, of which he had sometime since conceived the idea, into immediate execution. Singular as it may seem, this plan had nothing military, nothing theatrical in it ;—

\* This was the first "Theatre Royal" out of London.

it was a spermaceti manufactory! and what is still more singular, it not only succeeded, but proved highly advantageous!

Meanwhile, an histrionic revolution threatened the downfall of the theatrical empire, which had been some time committed entirely to his charge. The management of the stage had been lately entrusted to the sole superintendence of Mr. Lee\*, who possessed considerable dramatic talents, but was accused to be somewhat too rigid in his official department, and a little too impetuous, perhaps, in his natural temper. Squabbles, disputes, and altercations soon ensued between him and the actors and actresses, and to such a height were these contentions carried, that a *round robin* was at length signed by all the performers, both male and female, with one† only exception, frankly declaring, "that unless the proprietors would discharge the acting manager, they would immediately throw up their engagements."

On this, young Palmer, instead of entering into a treaty, or making conditions with the mutineers, instantly determined to demonstrate, that their insurrection could only be attended with ruin to themselves. He accordingly mounted his horse, and proceeded on a theatrical tour, for the express purpose of enlisting a fresh company. Accordingly, so successful did he prove, that after a journey of many hundred miles, he returned at the end of a fortnight, with an entire new set of performers. These, very luckily, were approved of by the public, so that the insurgents, crest-fallen and disappointed in their aim, were obliged to depart in search of engagements elsewhere.

The Bath stage now became the cradle of dramatic genius; for here were fostered a Henderson, an Edwin, and a Siddons! To keep up his stock of players, he paid an annual visit to most of the provincial companies in the kingdom, and constantly prepared a list of all candidates of any promise, with a

\* This gentleman, who had been for many years on the stage, was the father of the Miss Lee, who wrote the "Recess," and many other elegant productions.

† This proved to be the late Mr. Keasbury, who afterwards became joint-patentee.

view to resort to them, whenever opportunity offered. About this period, too, he obtained a patent for the Bristol theatre, from which, on account of its immediate vicinity to his native city, he derived many great advantages.

Having now brought both his playhouses into great vogue, and rendered them highly beneficial, he at length determined, soon after the death of his father, to dispose of the property of his family in them. Accordingly, an agreement was entered into with Mr. Dimond, an actor reared under his own auspices, and Mr. Keasbury, who had refused to join the contumacious comedians against him; and to these he disposed of the patents, on terms highly advantageous to all \* parties. Thus, Mr. Palmer fully proved to the world, that his talents were of a practical kind, and that every thing subjected to his controul, seemed to be constantly accompanied with the most prosperous results.

Meanwhile, the subject of this memoir contrived to make himself both beloved and respected by his fellow citizens. His predecessor, indeed, had rendered himself eminently dear to them, by dedicating the latter part of his life to their interests. The rivalry existing between the new and the old towns is well known to every one; and the inhabitants of the latter were greatly indebted to him, for his constant intervention in behalf of their interests, which were always watched with a jealous eye. The son profited not a little by this conduct, which, together with his own popularity, proved highly serviceable in the career pointed out by his ambition. He commenced by filling some of the subordinate, and concluded with attaining the highest honorary offices, in the power of the corporation to bestow. His mayoralty was more than usually splendid; and he endeavoured, during the whole course of it, to be more than usually loyal, a circumstance that could not fail to be agreeable to a city which has uniformly supported the existing government. At the period now alluded to, the late war was exceedingly unpopular, and

\* The sum of 20,000*l.* is said to have been obtained on this occasion.

Mr. Fox, at the head of an able, rather than a numerous opposition, opposed its progress with a degree of ability seldom before witnessed. To cheer and arouse the drooping spirits of the ministerial party, Mr. Mayor published a circular letter, in which he proposed to raise a general subscription for the public service. His relations, the Longs, presented three thousand guineas on this occasion, and he himself was not wanting to set an example, having commenced by advancing a donation, amounting to a proportionate share of his fortune, which was by this time considerable. An endeavour was made to extend this plan throughout the kingdom at large; but it did not succeed to the extent hoped for, and first a five, and then a ten per cent. tax was proposed, which, although greatly disliked at first, proved eminently productive. All this paved the way to the future representation of the city of Bath, to which office both the subject of this memoir and his eldest son, have been elected in succession.

We have now arrived at that epoch when Mr. Palmer became connected with one of the principal public offices in the state, and his plans and pursuits ultimately blended with the commercial and manufacturing interests of the nation. While at home, it was impossible for him to look at Prior Park, without contemplating the rewards so justly bestowed on a man, who had contributed so much to the prosperity of the post-office department. The friend of Pope, and of Warburton, Mr. Allen, had risen from humble beginnings, and attained both wealth and respectability by his talents.\* Abroad, it was impossible for a man of observation to travel a hundred miles without perceiving the difficulties attendant on a direct communication between distant parts. The post was so slow, and even so uncertain in its deliveries, that expresses were often substituted by commercial men; the roads, too, were bad; and the danger of robbery imminent.

\* In consequence of his improvements in the cross-posts he was rewarded with 12,000*l.* *per ann.* during his life, and as this lasted for the term of forty-two years after the grant, the sum total thus obtained amounted to about half a million sterling!

Mr. Palmer's long and circuitous journeys on theatrical affairs had made him have frequent recourse to relays, when pressed for time; and he perceived, by long experience, that he could easily anticipate the delivery of a letter by the usual conveyance. This, doubtless, suggested the idea, that what could be done for an individual, might with equal ease, and still greater benefit, be effected for the public at large. It was not, however, until he had traversed the whole kingdom, almost in every possible direction, and made himself acquainted with all the impediments, and all the abuses in the post-office department, that he deemed his projects sufficiently concocted and complete.

Accordingly, in 1782 or 1783, he applied to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, by means of a memorial, in which he stated all his plans with great minuteness and precision, and forgot not to add, that their execution would be attended not only with great advantage to commercial men, but produce an immediate increase of the revenue. Mr. Pitt, then minister, was busily employed at this very moment in devising means for rescuing the country from those pecuniary difficulties which had been entailed in consequence of the prosecution of the American war; by him, therefore, this proposition, fraught with increasing revenue, and many public advantages, was received with due attention. On this Mr. Palmer removed with his family to town, and a successful termination, as it was then hoped, had now taken place in respect to all his negotiations with the superior powers.

But the manner in which this was effected proved inefficient; and, strange to tell, in a matter of such importance no *written agreement* had ever been entered into. A *verbal* one, indeed, took place with the premier, but even that happened to be through the intermediate agency of a third person. This third person was no other than Dr. Prettyman, the present Bishop of Lincoln, then Mr. Pitt's private secretary, as appears from the testimony of the projector himself, when examined before a committee of the House of Commons: "I left some papers with Dr. Prettyman" observes he, "stating that

if my plan succeeded, for the reform and improvement of the posts, I demanded for my life  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *per cent.* on the future increased revenue of post-office, beyond the present nett profits, and not to have one shilling if I did not succeed in my plan. This happened in the spring of 1784. The answer brought to me by Dr. Prettyman was, that the terms were thought fair, and would be fully complied with, provided the plan succeeded."

Mr. Palmer accordingly commenced his operations, and actually effected a considerable saving above the original estimate of 20,000*l.* in the contract for the mails. It was deemed convenient, soon after, however, to modify the first agreement; in consequence of which, it was finally settled that Mr. Palmer was entitled to 1500*l.* a-year, and a per centage for the nett revenue exceeding 240,000*l.* *per ann.*

The scheme succeeded far beyond expectation, and was praised by every one but the postmasters-general and their immediate dependants. According to them, it was highly injurious both to the mercantile interest and the public revenue; and it would appear that some of them were in consequence so scrupulously conscientious as actually to oppose the full and entire execution of the project.

In the spring of 1785 (5th May) Mr. Palmer addressed a letter to the premier, complaining of the conduct of Mr. Todd, the secretary, and also of the interior mismanagement of the office committed to his charge.

"The success of the plan, Sir, I believe," adds he, "has exceeded both yours and the public's expectation. I am sure it has my own in some points, though not in others, but has not fallen short in one. A circumstance, I believe, almost as new to administration in the various plans that are submitted to them, as a popular tax, which the post-tax really is, where the accommodation has been given with it. It incurred no new expense, or inconvenience in the old establishment, even in the trial, but what was occasioned by the opposition from the general office. It conveys the mails in half the time they used to be, and guarded under regulations

that will in a great measure enforce themselves; and where it has been carried into execution, has immediately occasioned an increase of revenue to the post-office. It having been proved, that it is scarce possible for greater neglect or abuses to prevail than in the conduct of the old post; that in consequence of it, a great share of the correspondence was carried on by coaches, to the detriment of the post revenue; that the new \* tax, coupled with the old plan, would have increased such defalcation, which, by the statements given in to the treasury, comparing the great improvement in the revenue from the tax upon the new opposed to the old establishment, has been very fully proved.

“ It was promised in the plan, to give the improved expedition and security to the great roads from London, and some of the cross roads, for the payment of three-pence per mile, the allowance for guards, and the exemption from turnpike tolls. The contracts are now made for the greater part of the kingdom *for the allowance of guards and the exemption from turnpike tolls only*. Likewise, for all the cross posts, six times a-week, instead of three, so as to make those posts as regular and perfect as the general one.

“ This accommodation will be given to the public, and the arrival and departure of the mails all over the country will now be regular, expeditious, and safe, on plain, certain, and simple principles, instead of the reverse. It will not only save many thousands a-year, in the expense of the riding work, &c., but in consequence of the superior mode of conveyance to any other, add greatly to the revenue, by the increase of correspondence through the post-office.

“ In the progress of the business, I have had *every possible opposition from the office*; I have neither spared trouble nor expense to inform myself in every department of it, so that I may carry my plan completely into execution, and defeat their repeated attempts to ruin it. I have been perfectly open, and kept no one secret from government, or desired

\* Additional postage on letters.

one shilling advantage from any contract, but acted in every respect to the best of my judgment for the benefit of the public; nor can I gain the least advantage from my agreement till I have completed the plan over the whole kingdom, as my per centage from the increased revenue by the tax, without the accommodation, will not pay the very great expenses I am obliged to incur in the establishing it."

As many conflicting interests seemed to oppose the full and complete establishment of Mr. Palmer's plan, and as it was supposed likely to affect the perquisites of a variety of persons from the lowest to the highest in that department, Mr. Pitt, actuated solely by a regard for the public good, wished to render Mr. Palmer completely independent of the post-office. With this view, the draft of a commission was made out, constituting and appointing him, for and during his life, surveyor and comptroller general of the general post-office of Great Britain, with all its postmasters, contractors, deputies, accountants, surveyors, clerks, sorters, window-men, &c. &c. with the power of suspending all such for the neglect of duty. On being laid before the attorney-general, it was suggested that such extraordinary powers were incompatible with the act of parliament for regulating the office of postmaster-general. This objection, on the part of a great officer of the crown, impeded the proposed appointment for almost a year; but Mr. Palmer was at length invested with the office, on an understanding that he should be under the controul of the treasury alone, and thus derive his powers from the same source and authority as the postmasters-general themselves.

It was now supposed that every thing would go on smoothly; but this was impossible in the nature of human events. The passions and interests of too many were likely to be affected by the new regulations; and there were some who supposed that the projector would be audacious enough to extend his reforming arm from Lombard-street to Falmouth, Harwich, and the other out-ports whence foreign packets were forwarded, and thus convert to the *public* advantage many thousands of pounds,



supposed to be swallowed up and unaccounted for by individuals.

A strong opposition was accordingly made to the new plan: every impediment to its success was presented, and a party formed against it within the precincts of that very office which ought to have made every effort to ensure its completion, and thus contribute to the prosperity of the commerce and the revenue of the kingdom. This called forth new remonstrances to the Treasury on the part of the new comptroller, who accused Lord Walsingham, then joint postmaster-general, of gross injustice. Notwithstanding this, in 1787, that nobleman transmitted the following note:

“ I have long wished to see that point cleared, of your plan costing less than the old one; for I have understood that it cost more, but that the benefits overpaid the expenses. Be it one or the other, it was a most profound regulation, and you will well deserve *the salary and commission on the increased revenue*, for which the faith of Government is pledged to you.

“ Yours,

“ W.”

In reply to this, Mr. Palmer referred his Lordship to documents in his own office, by the aid of which he might correct the mistake in the former part of the above communication.

Meanwhile, commissioners, nominated for that purpose, delivered in their report respecting the existing state of the post-office, in the course of which much commendation was bestowed on the plan and conduct of the comptroller-general. On this, the nobleman alluded to above, after having first communicated the contents to the *old officers*, took every clerk from the new establishment, and carried them to Windsor, where they were kept at an inn close to his own residence for near three months, to make private copies of the document just referred to; all communication of the contents being, in the meantime, refused, and all the persons employed enjoined by the postmaster-general to keep the whole a secret from their superior the comptroller-general. It was also discovered soon

after, that previously to the communication of the report of the Treasury Board, his Lordship furnished it with marginal notes contradictory of the text, and in direct hostility to the new and improved plan.

Meanwhile, Mr. Palmer, perceiving that Lord Walsingham's influence had become hostile to him, determined to countermine his projects. This nobleman having, of his own accord, entered into an improvident engagement with a mail-contractor of the name of Wilson, afterwards refused to complete the same. On this, Mr. Palmer most unfortunately *committed* himself, by writing a confidential letter to Mr. Bonner, his deputy, in which the following prominent passages appeared :

“ The matter should be, quietly to throw this load upon his lordship : let him be bullied, perplexed, and frightened, and made apprehensive that his foolish interference may even occasion a rising of the mail prices, at 20,000*l.* per annum difference to the office. Think of all this; for he must not escape this bout. The fun would be to get Wilson aboard, and let him bamboozle his lordship with his slouch, and slang, and his blackguard. Wilson must be lessoned : tell him Lord W.'s declaration to me in his letter about the bill, but that I shall still advise payment.”

On another occasion, he betrayed a wish, in a certain case, for Mr. Freeling “ to put back the business of his department in the same irregular and confused state he found it.” In a third communication (October 3d, 1790), he expresses himself in the following incautious terms :

“ Though the conduct of the Lords (the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Walsingham) is the very thing I ought to wish (this alludes to their appeal to the Treasury), and must end well; yet it revives old quarrels and feelings, and fevers me in spite of myself. D—— them ! I never can be absent to get a little bathing or quiet, but this is the case.

“ ——— Did Bartlett mention to you they had been telling their story to the king? Pretty masters ! So they complain to domine of the great boy.”

Soon after this, a violent dispute took place; in consequence of which Mr. Palmer suspended his deputy, who, it appears, communicated all the above papers to the postmasters-general, and thus rendered the breach with them irreparable! Their lordships immediately took the case of Mr. Bonner into consideration, and ordered him to be restored; but the comptroller-general refused the key of the office to the applicant himself; and although he delivered it up, on a second application, to the solicitor of the post-office, yet he himself was in his turn suspended! Thus, the success of all his schemes was put in jeopardy, the new improvements in the posts retarded, his prospect of future remuneration hazarded, and his whole fortune placed in a state of the utmost uncertainty. He had risked his all; for, by an express contract with Government, he was precluded from reaping any advantage in case of failure, and had actually advanced several thousand pounds out of his own capital. Under his management, the revenue had risen from 150,000*l.* in 1783, to 600,000*l.* in 1798: not a single mail robbery had occurred, and yet his remuneration was now absolutely fixed at 3000*l.* a year. On this, Mr. Palmer took the opinion of eminent counsel\*; but although this was

\* “We are of opinion, that Mr. Palmer has fully performed his part of the agreement much to the advantage of the public. We are also of opinion (which, indeed, is impossible to doubt), that if a patent had been granted to Mr. Palmer, as originally intended, nothing which has since passed could have deprived him of the benefit of his agreement; because all that is imputed now to Mr. Palmer arises from misunderstandings and disputes between the Postmaster-General and him, and which could never have existed if a patent had been granted to him, as originally intended, under which he would not have been, in any respect, under the Postmaster-General.

“We are also of opinion, that though by the appointment which was given to Mr. Palmer, different from that originally intended, he was made subject to the controul of the Postmasters-General (because, by the constitution of the post-office, as established by act of parliament, no patent could be granted to him, by which he was to act independently of the Postmaster-General); yet there is nothing in the above-mentioned evidence that ought to deprive him of the benefit of his agreement, nor which could in a court of justice have that effect.

“It is established by this evidence, that the public derived from Mr. Palmer's exertions all the benefits which he had held forth as likely to accrue from them; and although we do not approve of the letters written by Mr. Palmer to his deputy, Mr. Bonner, which are the grounds for depriving Mr. Palmer of the benefit of his agreement,

entirely in his favour, yet it was found impossible to commence a suit at law against the Government with any probability of success.

Anterior to this, he had petitioned the Treasury Board ; to which he received for answer, " that their lordships conceived 3000*l.* per annum, for his life, a sufficient compensation for his services ; and that they did not think themselves justified on the part of the public, in making a farther allowance."

On this, in 1797, Mr. Palmer applied, by petition, to the House of Commons, and a committee was nominated to report on the causes of his suspension, and also on the nature of his agreement. Mr. Pierrepont in a very able speech, pointed out the merits and success of Mr. Palmer's plan, which was attended with this peculiarity, that in case of failure, he was to receive no pecuniary indemnification, and no reimbursement for his expences. During the forty years preceding his intervention, notwithstanding the great increase of trade and manufactures, the nett revenue of the post-office had experienced no increase whatever, except what was necessarily derived by the enhancement of the rate of postage, and restriction of franks ; on the contrary, indeed, taking an average of the nine years preceding the new plan, it had actually experienced a decrease of 13,198*l.* 13*s.* per annum. After the first gleam of success, the projector was obliged to submit to a new agreement, by which he lost 750*l.* per annum, but this was to be followed by every

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yet we think that those letters are far from a sufficient ground to deprive him of that benefit.

" We also think it very doubtful whether a court of justice would have thought that any attention ought to be paid to those letters ; because they were written in confidence to his deputy, and under an impression (though probably ill-founded) that the Postmasters-General were unfavourable to him, &c.

" Signed,

" J. MANSFIELD, (afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,)

" V. GIBBS, (also Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,)

" T. ERSKINE, (afterwards Lord Chancellor,)

" W. ADAM, (afterwards Lord Commissioner in Scotland.)

" April 24, 1799."

possible facility in the furtherance of his ultimate designs. And yet, the commissioners appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into this very subject, reported, that Mr. Palmer had experienced "opposition from the oldest and ablest officers in the service, who represented his plan not only to be impracticable, but dangerous to commerce and the revenue;" and it was nevertheless added, "that he has exceeded the expectations which he held forth in his first proposal, both with regard to *dispatch and expense*." They further state, that the country has derived great advantage by the new scheme; while the post-office revenue had increased, since 1783, to the amount of nearly half a million!

Mr. Sheridan, on this occasion, supported the pretensions of the claimant in a very brilliant speech; in the course of which he expressed himself as follows:

"None but an enthusiast could have imagined or formed such a plan; none but an enthusiast could have made such an agreement; none but an enthusiast could have carried it into execution: and I am confident," adds he, "that no man in this country, or any other, could have performed such an undertaking, but that very individual John Palmer."

Dr. Lawrence also observed, in the course of a very energetic harangue, which, like the former, proved ineffectual, "That it was to be apprehended, from what he had heard and what he knew, that men of talents, who might hereafter be willing to employ their genius and their industry in the service of the public, would discover, that Mr. Palmer had one fault greater than any which had been pressed against him. This was the fault of an over-hasty and improvident zeal, to do, without regard to his own interests, whatever good it was in his power to achieve for his country." Nor ought it to be here omitted, that the joint postmasters-general, with whom he had many disputes and contentions, on being required to deliver their opinion as to his motives, readily exhibited the most ample testimony on behalf of his character and integrity.\*

\* Extract of Lord Walsingham's evidence from the report pp. 29 and 30. "Have you any reason to doubt of the personal integrity of Mr. Palmer? — "No, never in

At length Mr. Palmer, after an interval of some years, determined, undismayed by his former defeat, to apply once more to parliament for redress; and it must be allowed, that he never displayed greater perseverance and abilities than upon this occasion. He had taken care to make his pretensions known from one end of the kingdom to another; he canvassed almost every member of parliament, either by himself or others, and as his cause was good, and his friends full of enthusiasm, the best founded hopes were entertained of success.

His eldest son, Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Palmer, who had succeeded him as M.P. for Bath, was entrusted with the management of this delicate and interesting business.

Accordingly, on May 12, 1808, in a committee of the whole house, after a short introductory speech, it was moved by him, "That this House is of opinion, that Mr. Palmer is entitled to 2*l.* 10*s.* per cent. on the net revenue of the post-office, exceeding the sum of 240,000*l.*, to be paid up from the 5th of April, 1793, and during his life, according to the provisions of his appointment of 1789; deducting the sum of 3000*l.* a-year, received subsequently to the 5th of April, 1793."

This proposition was opposed by Messrs. Long and Rose, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Attorney-General; but supported by Lord Henry Petty, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Windham, &c.; and, after a long debate, carried against Ministers by a majority of 86. In a committee of supply, leave was soon after given to bring in a bill to secure to the subject of this memoir the benefits of the late vote; and it was soon after moved and carried, "that a sum not exceeding 54,702*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* be granted to His Majesty, to be paid to John Palmer, Esq., being the balance of the per centage due to him on the net revenue of the post-office, from the 5th of April 1793 to the 5th of January, 1808."

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the smallest degree." — On the same question being put to the Earl of Chesterfield, he replied, "I desire to abide by the answer given by Lord Walsingham."

The House of Lords having, by its votes and proceedings, exhibited a certain degree of hostility to Mr. Palmer's claim, it was now determined by his friends, not to bring in a separate act for remuneration. On the contrary, the business was completely effected, by introducing a distinct clause for this purpose in the *Appropriation* bill, which precluded the possibility of a negative from the other chamber of parliament. A very large claim had been made for arrears, but it was deemed impolitic to urge this in the present state of public affairs.

After this final decision, by which 54,702*l.* was secured to Mr. Palmer, his mind appears to have been entirely at rest concerning pecuniary matters. Certain it is, that he had lost a very considerable sum, under the head already alluded to, which many supposed he was to the full as much entitled to as to the money which had been voted; but on the other hand, his *per centage*, which he still retained, became daily more productive, and as he lived about eleven years in the enjoyment of it, his reward, although granted with a niggard and reluctant hand, must, on the whole, have proved very handsome.

The subject of this memoir had also the satisfaction, in his declining years, to behold his family flourishing around him. His eldest son, the lieutenant-colonel, had attained considerable rank in the British army, in which he had distinguished himself as an officer of cavalry, by his valour and good conduct. Another son had conducted himself with great gallantry in the navy; and, after obtaining prize-money to a considerable amount as a post-captain, he had now settled in life, and married the great niece of his former patron, Admiral the Earl St. Vincent, with whom he obtained an ample fortune. At length, amidst every prospect of future happiness for his family, he resigned his breath at Brighton, in 1818, in the 76th year of his age.

Mr. Palmer, in point of person, approached the heroic size. His eyes, which were full of fire and expression, denoted a certain energy of mind which proved characteristic of

him during the whole of a pretty long life. He was conciliatory and pleasant in no ordinary degree in his intercourse; and it is not a little creditable to his talents, that he proved successful in all his plans. He not only perfected and simplified the complex machinery of the post-office, encreased the revenue, and gave new facilities to commerce, but at the same time secured and rendered in some measure sacred, the remittances and correspondence of the public, by putting an entire stop to mail-robberies. A higher eulogium to his memory cannot possibly be paid, than what occurs in the minutes of the evidence of Mr. Francis Freeling, who now so worthily presides over the post-office department:

“I always conceived I was best serving the interests of the public, by following the plans laid down by Mr. Palmer.”

The remains of this gentleman were deposited within the precincts of a city, which himself and his father had so essentially contributed both to embellish and enrich. The corpse was accordingly brought from Brighton to Bath, where it was deposited in the house of Mrs. Ricketts, sister to the venerable Earl St. Vincent, a lady with whom he was connected both by friendship and alliance. From her mansion the body, in due time, was removed, in funeral procession, attended by the mayor and members of the corporation. The chief mourners consisted of his two sons, Colonel Palmer, M. P., and Captain E. Palmer of the royal navy, together with his nephew, Mr. Bartlett.



## No. V.

## PATRICK BRYDONE, Esq.

F. R. S. OF LONDON AND EDINBURGH, AND F. A. S.

IT is greatly to be lamented, that the materials for a life of this ingenious gentleman are scanty and incomplete. We know little of him indeed, but from his travels; and even in respect to these, he does not appear to have communicated to the public an account of all his peregrinations.

Mr. Brydone, who claimed his descent from an ancient family in the North of England, was born about the year 1741, and received an excellent education at one of the universities. His first wishes were pointed towards the profession of arms; but he chiefly distinguished himself by his tours in foreign countries. At the commencement of these, Dr. Franklin had aroused the curiosity of mankind by his discoveries in electricity; and when the subject of this memoir first set his foot on the Continent, he was provided with the best instruments that England could furnish, for the purpose of making discoveries as to the precise state and temperature of the air on the summits of the highest mountains of Europe. He accordingly visited Switzerland as well as Italy, and crossed both the Alps and Appenines. In these excursions, he often witnessed phenomena not uncommon in the regions just alluded to; for more than once he beheld a thunder-storm bursting under his feet! His apparatus, and his experiments, acquired for him the reputation, not of a philosopher, but of a conjurer, amidst the habitable recesses of the elevated summits to which we have just alluded; while his talents and conversation charmed all whom he approached.

It was in the year 1767, or 1768, that Mr. Brydone accompanied Mr. Beckford of Somerly, in Suffolk, in a scientific excursion to the Continent. He afterwards travelled with the late Mr. Fullarton, then only seventeen years of age, to Italy, and some of the islands of the Mediterranean. In the course of these voyages and journeys, he was introduced to the first order of society; and it is evident, indeed, that every attention and information possible to be communicated by the higher circles, was most readily afforded. A certain degree of éclat was accordingly obtained for our traveller; and on his return to England, an account of his journey was expected with a certain degree of impatience. The public were accordingly gratified soon after by a very masterly publication; and in 1790, a second edition of the "Tour through Sicily and Malta," in two volumes, octavo, made its appearance.

This work consists of a series of epistles addressed to his friend William Beckford, esquire, the first of which is dated "Naples, May 14, 1770." Both Sicily and Malta were then almost considered as *non-descripts*; and the author, indeed, very modestly observes in his preface, "Had there been any book in our language on the subject of the following letters, they never should have seen the light." It may be fairly doubted, after the lapse of near fifty eventful years, whether there be any publication of a similar kind so deserving of notice as the one now under consideration.

Letter I. contains an account of the climate of Naples, which is here termed one of the warmest and most inconstant of all Italy. According to his account, it disagreed with all English valetudinarians, particularly young people, who found themselves far better at Rome, which, although colder in winter, was deemed more healthy. The former, however, is stated to be eligible in summer, as the air is constantly refreshed with sea-breezes; and in 1769, Fahrenheit's thermometer never rose higher there than 76., while at the latter it was at 89.: at the end of January, it stood at 36.; at Rome, it fell to 27.: so that the difference between the two extremes of heat and

cold, at the one was only 40 degrees, while at the other it was no less than 62. "The rain, which often endures for six weeks, and the *Sirocco*, or south-east wind, are, however, both highly disagreeable at Naples; for the last gives the vapours in a much higher degree than the worst of our rainy Novembers; and it has now blown for these seven days without intermission.

"Sea-bathing," observes he, "we have found to be the best antidote against the effects of the *Sirocco*; and this we certainly enjoy in great perfection. Lord Fortrose, who is the soul of our colony here, has provided a large commodious boat for this purpose. We meet every morning at eight o'clock, and row about half a mile on the sea, where we strip and plunge into the water. My Lord has ten watermen, who are in reality a sort of amphibious animals, as they live one half the summer in the sea. Three or four of these generally go with us, to pick up stragglers and secure us from all accidents.

"To accustom us to swimming in all circumstances, my lord has provided a suit of clothes, which we wear by turns; and from a very short practice, we have found it almost as commodious to swim with as without them: we have likewise learned to strip in the water, and find it no difficult matter. After bathing, we have an English breakfast at his lordship's; and after breakfast, a delightful little concert, which lasts for an hour and a half. Barbella, the sweetest fiddle in Italy, leads our little band. This party, I think, constitutes one principal part of the pleasure we enjoy at Naples. We have also some very agreeable society amongst ourselves, though we cannot boast of much of that with the inhabitants. There are, to be sure, many good people amongst them; but in general, there is so little analogy betwixt an English and a Neapolitan mind, that the true social harmony, that sweetener of human life, can seldom be produced.

"In lieu of this (the exchange, you will say, is but a bad one), the country round Naples abounds so much in every

thing that is curious, both in art and nature, and affords so ample a field of speculation for the naturalist and antiquary, that a person of any curiosity may spend some months here very agreeably, and not without profit. Besides the discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeia, which of themselves afford a great fund of entertainment, the whole coast that surrounds this beautiful bay, particularly that near Puzzoli, Cuma, Micænum, and Baia, is covered with innumerable monuments of Roman magnificence.

"Yesterday we rode over the greatest part of Baia, a shooting of porcupines, a new species of diversion which I have never heard of before. We killed several of these animals on the *Monte Barbaro*, the place that formerly produced the Falernian wine, but now a barren waste. I do not know if you are acquainted with this kind of sport: to me, indeed, its novelty was its greatest merit; and I would not, at any time, give a day of partridge for a month of porcupine shooting."

Our travellers, consisting of Mr. Beckford, Mr. (afterwards Colonel) Fullarton, Mr. Glover, and Mr. Brydone, now prepared for their intended expedition to Sicily, which was deemed impracticable by the Italians, partly because there then were no inns on the island, and partly because many of the roads lay over dangerous precipices, or through bogs and forests, infested with the most resolute and daring banditti in Europe.

However, all these considerations, formidable as they certainly were, did not deter Mr. Hamilton (afterwards Sir William Hamilton, K. B.), his lady\*, and Lord Fortrose, who had actually engaged in this expedition during the course of the preceding summer, and these were all amply gratified by the pleasure and entertainment resulting from it. But instead of crossing from Regium to Messina, to avoid the bad accommodation of, and the danger from the banditti in, Calabria and Apulia, our travellers preferred to hazard all the feigned

\* This was his first wife.

terrors of Scylla and Charybdis, together with the more real ones of sea-sickness.

They accordingly hired an English vessel called the "Charming Molly," and taking advantage of a brisk *tramontane*, or north wind, advanced towards the island of Caprè, or Caprea, once so famous for the abode of Augustus, and afterwards so infamous for that of Tiberius. A little to the west lay Ischia, Procida, and Nisida; the celebrated promontory of Micænum, where Æneas landed; the classic fields of Baia, Cuma, and Puzzoli, with all the variety of scenery that formed both the Tartarus and Elysium of the ancients; the Campi Phlegrei, or Burning Plains, where Jupiter overcame the giants, &c. &c.

Those extensive coasts, along which they afterwards navigated, consisting of mountains, valleys, promontories, and islands, covered with an everlasting verdure, and loaded with the richest fruits, are all the produce of subterraneous fire. The traces of such dreadful conflagrations are still conspicuous: they have been violent indeed in their operations, but in the end have proved salutary in their effects. The fire in many places, indeed, is not yet quite extinguished, although there is only one spot where it rages with any degree of activity.

During a very dark evening, Vesuvius flamed at a dreadful rate, so that they could distinctly behold the red-hot stones thrown to a vast height in the air, and after their fall rolling down the side of the mountain. This was a fine specimen of the sublime; but in the course of the next morning, the sirocco wind returned, accompanied by sea-sickness. At length, however, a fresh breeze from a different quarter sprung up, and they came in sight of Stromboli and the mountains of Calabria. About eleven at night, they beheld part of the coast of Sicily, the irruptions of which appeared of a different kind from those of Vesuvius; and on the 19th, found themselves within half a mile of the object of their researches. Soon after which they entered the bay of

Messina; not so grand, indeed, but far more beautiful, than that of Naples.

After landing and refreshing themselves, this party of Englishmen visited several of the convents, assisted at the festival in honour of St. Francis, and in their excursions into the country, observed in the fields many of the flowers so carefully cultivated in our gardens, and several others we are still unacquainted with; Larkspur, Flos Adonis, Venus's looking-glass, hawk-weed, and very fine lupins, grow wild over all the adjacent mountains. There, also, were to be found a variety of flowering shrubs, particularly the *pomo d'oro*: the low lands, too, are covered with the richest white clover, intermixed with a variety of aromatic plants, which perfume the air, and render a walk exceedingly delightful.

"But what is remarkable," observes our traveller, we were most sensible of this perfume when walking on the side of the harbour, which is at the greatest distance from these fields. I mentioned this peculiarity to a Messinese gentleman, who tells me that the salt produced here by the heat of the sun, emits a grateful odour, something like violets; and it is that, probably, which perfumes the sea-shore. On consulting Fazello *de rebus Siculis*, I find he takes notice of the same singularity; and likewise observes, that the water of the straits has a viscous or glutinous quality, which by degrees cements the sand and gravel together, and at last consolidates them to the solidity of a rock.

"There are fine shady walks on all sides of Messina; some of these run along the sea-shore, and are for ever fanned by the cooling breezes from the Straits. The houses are large, and most of the articles of life are cheap, and in plenty; particularly fish, which are reckoned better here than any where else in the Mediterranean. The hire of lodgings is next to nothing; almost one-half of the noble range of buildings I have described being absolutely uninhabited since the desolation of 1743; so that the proprietors are glad to get tenants on any terms. It now occurs to me, that from all these con-

siderations, there is no place I have seen so admirably calculated for the residence of that flock of valetudinarians which every autumn leaves our country with the swallows, in search of warm climates. In winter, they allow, they have sometimes heavy rain for two or three weeks; but it never lasts longer; and besides they have always some few hours every day, when people can go out for exercise: for the moment the rain is over the walks are dry, the soil being a light gravel."

After paying their respects to the prince-vice-roy, they set out for Giardini, with ten mules for themselves and servants, and two for their baggage. They had also a front and rear guard, consisting of natives, armed with swords, pistols, and arquebuses. The road was romantic, and the sides of the mountains, which are highly cultivated, present the most agreeable aspect that can be imagined: corn, wine, oil, and silk, all mixed together, and in the greatest abundance. The sides of every path are covered with a variety of flowers, and flowering shrubs; many of the inclosures are fenced with hedges of the Indian fig, or prickly pear; while their guides assured them, that in some of the ravines around Etna there are trees, which produce a bastard kind of cinnamon, and pepper.

After visiting and admiring the great theatre of Teuro-minum they went to examine the Naumachia, and the reservoirs for supplying water. They next contemplated the celebrated tree, known by the name of *Il castoglio de cento Cavalli* (the chesnut-tree, capable of affording shelter to a hundred horses,) which, for some centuries past, has been deemed one of the greatest wonders of Etna.

In the journey from Jaci to Catania, one of the most ancient cities in the island, the road is entirely over lava; they counted eight mountains formed by eruptions, with every one its crater. The whole of the coast has been formed by the labours of Mount Etna, and for many miles, even the sea itself has been driven back from its ancient boundary. It is

difficult to conceive what it is impossible to deny: the front of a torrent of fire, ten miles in breadth, and heaped up to an enormous height, rolling down the mountains, and pouring its flames into the ocean.

Signior Recuperò, who acted as their *Cicerone*, reasoning from analogy, asserted that the different beds of lava, with earth above each, lately discovered in a draw-well, fairly indicate, that the lowest stratum must have flowed from the mountain at least 14,000 years ago. "Recuperò tells me," adds our traveller, "that he is exceedingly embarrassed by these discoveries, in writing the history of Etna. — That Moses hangs like a dead weight upon him, and blunts all his zeal for inquiry; for that really he has not conscience to make his mountain so young as that prophet makes the world. — What do you think of these sentiments from a Roman Catholic divine? The bishop, who is strenuously orthodox — for it is an excellent see — has already warned him to be on his guard, and not pretend to be a better natural historian than Moses; nor to presume to urge any thing that may in the smallest degree be deemed contradictory to his sacred authority."

The revenues of this bishop chiefly arise from the sale of snow, on Mount Etna, one small portion of which, lying on the north of the mountain, is said to bring him in upwards of 1000*l.* a-year; this is sent to Sicily, Malta, and great [part of Italy, where it makes a considerable branch of commerce, as even the peasants in those hot countries regale themselves with ices during the summer heats. A famine of snow, therefore, would be more grievous perhaps than either a famine of corn or wine. But the mountain not only keeps the inhabitants of Sicily cool in summer, but likewise keeps them warm in winter; the fuel for the greatest part of the island being found in the immense and inexhaustible forests of this volcano: this also constitutes a principal branch of trade.

After remarking that many of the churches were formerly heathen temples, purged and purified from all the infection occasioned by their rites, our author observes, "that the



Blessed Virgin has long been constituted universal legatee and executrix of all the ancient goddesses, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal; and, indeed, little more than the names are changed," adds he, "the things continue much the same as ever. The Catholics themselves do not attend to it; but it is not a little curious to consider how small is the deviation in almost every article of their present rites from those of the ancients. I have somewhere seen an observation, which seems to be a just one, that during the long reign of heathenism superstition had altogether exhausted her talent for invention; so that, when superstition seized Christians, they were under the necessity of borrowing from their predecessors, and imitating some part of their idolatry. I took notice of it to Signor Recupero, who is not the most zealous sectary in the world, and who frankly owned the truth of the observation.

"In some places the very same images remain: they have only christened them; and what was Venus or Proserpine, is now Mary Magdalene, or the Virgin. The same ceremonies are daily performed before these images; in the same language, and nearly in the same manner. The saints are perpetually coming down in person, and working miracles, as the heathen gods did of old. The walls of the temples are covered with the vows of pilgrims, as they were formerly. The holy water, which was held in such detestation by the first Christians, is again revered, and sprinkled about with the same devotion as in the time of paganism.

"The same incense is burnt by priests arrayed in the same manner, with the same grimaces and genuflections, before the same images, and in the same temples too. In short, so nearly do the rites coincide, that were the pagan high-priest to come back and reassume his functions, he would only have to learn a few new names; to get the mass, the Paters, and the Aves by heart; which would be much easier to him, as they are in a language he understands; but which his modern successors often are ignorant of. Some things, to be sure,

would puzzle him, and he would swear that all the mysteries of Eleusis, were nothing to the amazing mystery of transubstantiation; the only one that ever attempted to set both our understanding and our senses at defiance, and baffles equally all the faculties of the soul and body."

On the 27th May our four Englishmen, attended by proper guides, and furnished with provisions, liqueurs, &c. set off to visit Etna, and passing through the two first tracts or belts, called *La Regione Culta* (the fertile region), and *La Regione Sylvosa* (the woody district), at length arrived at *La Regione Deserta* (the barren region). The mountain at this period was tolerably quiet, but Recupero assured them that during one eruption he had seen large rocks, blazing with fire, discharged to the height of some thousand feet, with a noise far more terrible than that of thunder. On measuring from the time of their greatest elevation till they reached the ground, he found they took twenty-two seconds to descend; which, according to the rule of the spaces, being as the squares of the time, are here calculated at upwards of 7000 feet. Our author, who had measured the height of the explosions of Vesuvius by the same mode, never observed any of the stones thrown from it to take more than nine seconds to descend; which shows that they had risen to little more than 1200 feet.

After sleeping all night on a bed of leaves in a cavern, the travellers ascended through the snow, notwithstanding the steepness; and comforted themselves, amidst their fatigues, with the recollection, that the Emperor Adrian, and the philosopher Plato, had both encountered the same obstacles; and from the same motive too, to behold the rising sun from the top of Etna. They arrived before dawn at the ruins of an ancient structure called "Il torre del Filosofo," supposed to have been built by the philosopher Empedocles, who took up his habitation here, the better to study the nature of Mount Etna. At this period the mercury had fallen to  $20^{\circ} 6'$ , and they found that the immense vault of heaven shone in more

awful majesty and splendour than below. To add to their astonishment, the number of stars seemed to be infinitely increased, while the light of each of them appeared brighter than usual. The whiteness of the milky-way resembled a pure flame shot across the heavens: and with the naked eye they could observe clusters of stars that were invisible in the regions below: for they had now passed through ten or twelve thousand feet of gross vapour, that necessarily blunts and confuses every ray, before it reaches the surface of the earth. This produced a distinctness of vision to which they had not before been accustomed.

After contemplating the novel objects around them for some time, they rested themselves at the foot of the great crater, which is of an exact conical form, with a circumference of about ten miles, with the volcano in its centre: the mercury had fallen to  $20^{\circ} 4\frac{1}{2}'$ . In about an hour's climbing, they at length arrived at a place where there was no snow, which induced them to make another halt: the mercury at  $19^{\circ} 6\frac{1}{2}'$ . From this spot it was only 300 yards to the highest summit.

On their arrival there the whole atmosphere by degrees kindled up, and showed dimly the boundless prospect around. The stars were extinguished, and the shades disappeared; while the forests, which at first seemed black and bottomless gulphs, caught life and beauty from every increasing beam. "The scene still enlarges, and the horizon seems to widen and expand itself on all sides; till the sun, like the great Creator, appears in the east, and with his plastic ray completes the mighty scene. The senses, unaccustomed to the sublimity of such a scene, are bewildered and confounded; and it is not until after some time that they are capable of separating and judging of the objects that compose it. The body of the sun is seen rising from the ocean, immense tracts both of sea and land intervening; the islands of Lipari, Pinare, Alicudi, Strombolo, and Volcano, appear under your feet; and you look down on the whole of Sicily as on a map: and can trace

every river, through all its windings, from its source to its mouth; and I am persuaded, it is only from the imperfection of our organs that the coasts of Africa, and even of Greece, are not discovered, as they are certainly above the horizon.

“The circumference of the visible horizon, on the top of Etna, cannot be less than 2000 miles. At Malta, which is near 200 miles distance, they perceive all the eruptions from the second region; and that island is often discovered from about one-half the elevation of the mountain; so that, at the whole elevation, the horizon must extend to near double the distance, or 400 miles, which makes 800 for the diameter of the circle, and 2400 for the circumference. But this is by much too vast for our senses, not intended to grasp so boundless a scene.

It was not without a mixture both of pleasure and pain, that they quitted this awful scene. On returning, however, an accident occurred, which might have been productive of serious consequences, for on running over the ice, Mr. Brydone's leg folded under him, and he received so violent a sprain, that he found himself, for some time, unable to move. In this condition our poor philosopher was obliged to hop on one leg, with two men supporting him, for several miles over the snow.

On their return, he began to calculate the altitude of the mountain; this, according to Kircher, who pretends to have measured it, is 4000 French toises in height, which is more than the steepest of the Andes; some of the Italian mathematicians make it eight miles, some six, and some four; Amici, the last who made the attempt, reduces it to 3 miles 264 paces; but we are here told that the perpendicular altitude, probably, does not exceed 12,000 feet, or little more than two miles. Mr. Brydone was astonished to find that the mercury fell almost two inches lower than he had ever observed it on the very highest of the accessible Alps; and Mont Blanc, which is inaccessible, is higher than Etna. The magnetical needle took a longer time in ascertaining the North point above than below, being greatly agitated near the summit. Soon after the erup-

tion of 1755, on a compass being placed on the lava, it entirely lost its magnetical power, standing indiscriminately at every of the thirty-two points; and it never recovered till again touched with the loadstone.

It ought not to be forgotten here, that our traveller carried with him a magnetical needle and a small electrometer, &c. to examine the precise state of the atmosphere. "I found," observes he, "that round Nicolosi, and particularly on the top of Montpelieri, the air was in a very favourable state for electrical operations. Here the little *pith balls*, when insulated, were sensibly affected, and repelled each other above an inch. I expected this electrical state of the air would have encreased as we advanced on the mountain; but at the cave where we slept, I could observe no such effect. Perhaps it was owing to the exhalations from the trees and vegetables which are exceedingly luxuriant; whereas about Nicolosi, and round Montpelieri, there is hardly any thing but lava and dry hot sand. Or, perhaps, it might be owing to the evening being farther advanced, and the dews beginning to fall. However, I have no doubt that upon these mountains formed by eruption, where the air is strongly impregnated with sulphureous effluvia, great electrical discoveries might be made. And, perhaps, of all the reasons assigned for the wonderful vegetation that is performed on this mountain, there is none that contributes so much towards it, as this constant electrical state of the air: for from a variety of experiments it has been found, that an increase of the electrical matter adds much to the progress of vegetation. It probably acts there in the same manner as on the animal body; the circulation, we know, is performed quicker, and the juices are driven through the small vessels with more ease and celerity.

"This has often been proved from the immediate removal of obstructions by electricity; and probably the rubbing with dry and warm flannel, esteemed so efficacious in such cases, is doing nothing more than striking a greater degree of electricity in the part; but it has likewise been demonstrated by the

common experiment of making water drop through a small capillary syphon, which, the moment it is electrified, runs in a full stream. I have, indeed, very little doubt, that the fertility of our seasons depends as much on this quality in the air, as either on its heat or moisture.

“Electricity,” it is added, “will probably soon be considered as the great vivifying principle of nature, by which she carries on most of her operations. It is a fifth element, distinct from and of a superior nature to the other four, which only compose the corporeal parts of nature; but this subtile and active fluid is a kind of soul that pervades and quickens every particle of it. When an equal quantity of this is diffused through the air, and over the face of the earth, every thing continues calm and quiet; but if, by any accident, one part of matter has acquired a greater quantity than another, the most dreadful consequences often ensue before the equilibrium can be restored. Nature seems to fall into convulsions, and many of her works are destroyed: all the great phenomena are produced; thunder, lightning, earthquakes, and whirlwinds. For I believe there is little doubt that all these frequently depend on this sole cause.

“And again, if we look down from the sublime of nature to its minutiae, we shall probably some day discover, that what we call sensibility of nerves, and many of these diseases, that the faculty have only as yet invented names for, are owing to the body’s being possessed of too large or too small a quantity of this subtile and active fluid; that very fluid, perhaps, that is the vehicle of all our feelings, and which they have so long searched for in vain in the nerves: for I have sometimes been led to think, that this sense is nothing else than a slighter kind of electric effect, to which the nerves serve as conductors; and that it is by a rapid circulation of this penetrating and animating fire that our sensations are performed.

“We all know, that in damp and hazy weather, when it seems to be blunted and absorbed by the humidity; when its

activity is lost, and little or none of it can be collected, we ever find our spirits more languid, and our sensibility less acute: but in the Sirocco wind at Naples, when the air seems totally deprived of it, then the whole system is unstrung, and the nerves seem to lose both their tension and elasticity, till the north or west wind awakens the activity of this animating power, which soon restores the tone, and enlivens all nature, that seems to droop and languish during its absence.

“ It is likewise well known, that there have been instances of the human body becoming electric without the communication of any electric substance, and even emitting sparks of fire with a disagreeable sensation, and an extreme degree of nervous sensibility. About seven or eight years ago, a lady in Switzerland was affected in this manner, and though I was not able to learn all the particulars of her case, yet several Swiss gentlemen have confirmed to me the truth of the story. She was extremely sensible of every change of weather, and had her electrical feelings strongest in a clear day, or during the passage of thunder-clouds, when the air is known to be replete with that fluid.\*

“ Two gentlemen of Geneva had a short experience of the same kind of complaint, though still in a much superior degree. Professor Saussure, and young Mr. Jalabert, when travelling over one of the high Alps, were caught amongst thunder-clouds, and, to their utter astonishment, found their bodies so full of electrical fire, that spontaneous flashes darted from their fingers with a crackling noise, and the same kind of sensation as when strongly electrified by art.

“ It seems pretty evident, I think, that these feelings were owing to the bodies being possessed of too great a share of electric fire. This is an uncommon case, but I do not think it at all improbable that many of our invalids, particularly the hy-

\* We are afterwards told, in another place, that the complaints of this female were owing entirely to her dress, her head being surrounded with wires, and her hair stuck full of metal pins, while she herself stood in dry silk stockings. A trifling change of dress, would, in our author's opinion, have entirely relieved the patient.

pochondriac, and those we call *Malades Imaginaires*, owe their disagreeable feelings to the opposite cause, or the bodies being possessed of too small a quantity of this fire; for we find that a diminution of it in the air seldom fails to encrease their uneasy sensations, and *vice versa*.

“ Perhaps it might be serviceable to these people,” adds our intelligent author, “ to wear some electric substance next the skin, to defend the nerves and fibres from the damp or from electric air. I would propose a waistcoat of the finest flannel, which should be kept perfectly clean and dry; for the effluvia of the body, in case of any violent perspiration, will soon destroy its electric quality; this should be covered by another of the same size of silk. The animal heat and the friction that exercise must occasion betwixt these two substances, produce a powerful electricity, and would form a kind of electric atmosphere around the body, that might possibly be one of the best preservatives against the effect of damps.”

On the 31st of May our travellers, having now fully satisfied their curiosity in respect to Etna, embarked on board a felucca, and set sail for Syracuse. On this occasion they crossed the mouth of the Giaretta, formerly the Simethus, which throws up great quantities of the finest amber; this is worked up at Catania, into crosses, relics, beads, &c. One of the artists, of more than ordinary skill and contrivance, succeeded in leaving a large *blue bottle fly*, with its wings suspended over the head of a saint, to represent “*lo spirito Santo!*”

At Syracuse our party of Englishmen visited the “*Ear of Dionysius*,” and whatever else appeared curious; but they searched in vain for the sepulchre of Archimedes which had been designated at his own request by the figure of a sphere inscribed in a cylinder. They examined, however, the fountain of Arethusa, which was actually discovered by Cicero’s account of it: the sole difference is, that it does not now possess any fish. It was dedicated to Diana, but none of her nymphs were here to be seen; they were replaced by a few washer-



women, up to the knees in water, and busied in cleansing some woollen garments. Near to the smaller of the two harbours of Syracuse, they still show the spot where the house of Archimedes stood; as also the tower, whence he is said to have set fire to the Roman galleys with his burning glasses, which are of late asserted to be common mirrors.

As they found the once mighty city of Syracuse so reduced as not to afford sufficient beds and lodgings for three or four weary travellers, after a short residence, they hired a small vessel called a *sparonaro*, to carry them to the Island of Malta, which next became an object of attention; accordingly on the 2d of June, by day break, they left the Marmoreo or great port, and proceeded in their six oared boat, calculated rather for speed than conveniency, the chief object being to avoid the African pirates. Having reached Cape Passero, the most southerly point of Sicily, consisting of an island of about a mile round, they landed, and made a very comfortable dinner in a small cavern.

After a voyage of two days, they landed at the city of Valletta, and were conducted by Mr. Rutter, the English consul, to an inn which had the appearance of a palace. There they had an excellent supper and plenty of good burgundy, and as this happened to be the king's birth-day, they almost got *tipsey*, in drinking His Majesty's health.

Next morning they proceeded to visit the principal villas of the island, particularly those of the grand master and the general of the galleys. "These are nothing great or magnificent, but they are admirably contrived for a hot climate, where, of all things, shade is the most desirable. The orange groves are indeed very fine, and the fruit they bear is superior to any thing you have seen, either in Spain or Portugal. The aspect of the country is far from being pleasing; the whole island is a great rock of very white free-stone, and the soil that covers this rock, in most places, is not more than five or six inches deep; yet, what is singular, we find their crop in general very abundant. They account for it

from the copious dews that fall during the spring and summer months, and pretend likewise, that there is a moisture in the rock below the soil, that is of great advantage to the corn and cotton, keeping its roots perpetually moist and cool; without which quality, they say, they could have no crops at all, the heat of the sun is so exceedingly violent.

“ Their barley harvest has been over some time, and they are just now finishing that of the wheat. The whole island produces corn only sufficient to support its inhabitants for five months, or little more; but the crop they most depend on is the cotton. They began sowing it about three weeks ago, and it will be finished in a week more. The time of reaping is in the month of October and beginning of November. It is manufactured into stockings, coverlids, and blankets, all very famous. Their principal fruit is produced from the common orange-bud, engrafted on the pomegranate stock; the juice is blood red. Such is the industry of the Maltese that not a single inch of ground is left uncultivated in the island. Where the soil is deficient, they import earth from Sicily.

“ St. John's is a magnificent church: the pavement, in particular, is reckoned the richest in the world. It is entirely composed of sepulchral monuments of the finest marbles, porphyry, lapis lazuli, and a variety of other stones admirably joined together, and at an incredible expense, representing in a kind of mosaic, the arms, insignia, &c. of the persons whose names they are intended to commemorate. In the magnificence of these monuments, the heirs of the grand masters and commanders have long vied with each other.

“ We went this day to see the celebration of their church service. It seems to be more overcharged with parade and ceremony than what I have ever observed, even in any other Catholic country. The number of genuflections before the altar, the kissing of the prior's hand, the holding up of his robes by the subaltern priests, the ceremony of throwing incense upon all the knights of the Great Cross, and neglecting the poorer knights, with many other articles, appeared to us

highly ridiculous, and most essentially different, indeed, from that purity and simplicity of worship that constitutes the very essence of true christianity, and of which the great pattern they pretend to copy sets so very noble an example."

After making an expedition in coaches drawn by one mule each, which was the only kind of vehicle the island then afforded, they left the principal port early in June. Having landed at Gozzo, they were greatly disappointed on examining this island, which is supposed to have formerly belonged to Calypso, to find nothing either very fine or very beautiful; nor, after a close investigation, could they discover even the grotto of the goddess.

In the course of that night they once more beheld the smoke of Etna, and having a fair wind, by ten o'clock next morning they discovered the coast of Sicily. Having gone on shore near the ruins of a village in Hybla, they contrived to sup there; they then launched their bark once more, and soon reached the celebrated port of Agrigentum, now called *Girgenti*; which is both "regular and ugly;" yet, at a few miles distance, it makes a noble appearance, like that of Genoa; for it is built on the slope of a hill, so that the houses assume an amphi-theatrical appearance.

"The captain of the port gave us a polite reception, and insisted on accompanying us to the city, which stands on the top of a mountain, four miles distant from the harbour, and about 1100 feet above the level of the sea. The road on each side is bordered by a row of exceeding large American aloes, upwards of one third of them being at present in full blow, and making the most beautiful appearance that can be imagined. The flower-stems of this noble plant are in general between twenty and thirty feet high (some of them more) and are covered with flowers from top to bottom, which taper regularly, and form a beautiful kind of pyramid, the base or pedestal of which is the fine spreading leaves of the plant. As this is esteemed in northern countries one of the greatest curiosities of the vegetable tribe, we were happy at seeing it in so great

perfection; much greater, I think, than I had ever seen it before.

“With us, I think, it is vulgarly reckoned (though I believe falsely) that they only flower once in a hundred years. Here I was informed, that at the latest, they always blow the sixth year, but for the most part the fifth. As the whole substance of the plant is carried into the stem and the flowers, the leaves begin to decay as soon as the blow is completed, and a numerous offspring of young plants are produced round the root of the old one; these are slipped off, and formed into new plantations, either for hedges, or for avenues to their country houses.”

After visiting the ruins of Agrigentum, they discovered that the mountain on which it stands, is composed of a concretion of sea-shells, cemented by a kind of sand or gravel. On the very summit, our curious travellers discovered cockles, muscles, oysters, &c. “By what means they have been lifted up to this vast height, and so intimately mixed with the substances of the rock, I leave to you (Mr. Beckford) and your philosophical friends to determine. This old battered globe of ours has probably suffered many convulsions not recorded in any history. You have heard of the vast stratum of bones lately discovered in Istria and Ossero; part of it runs below rocks of marble, upwards of forty feet in thickness, and they have not yet been able to ascertain its extent: something of the same kind has been found in Dalmatia, in the islands of the Archipelago; and lately, I am told, in the rock of Gibraltar.

“Now the deluge recorded in Scripture, will hardly account for all the appearances of this sort to be met with, almost in every country in the world; but I am interrupted by visitors, which is a lucky circumstance both for you and me, for I was just going to be very philosophical, and consequently very dull. Adieu!”

Having crossed on mules from Agrigentum to Palermo, they found the intervening country at once very rich and

very fertile, producing corn, wine, oil, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, almonds, pistachio nuts, &c. Notwithstanding the almost spontaneous gifts of Nature, the people were poor, miserable, and oppressed.

“Accursed tyranny!” (exclaims our British traveller) “what despicable objects we become in thy hands! Is it not inconceivable, how any government should be able to render poor and wretched a country which almost produces spontaneously every thing that even luxury can desire? But, alas! poverty and wretchedness have ever attended the Spanish yoke, both on this and on t’other side of the globe. They make it their boast, that the sun never sets on their dominions; but forget, that since they became such, they have left him nothing to see in his course, but deserted fields, barren wildernesses, oppressed peasants, and lazy, lying, lecherous monks. Such are the fruits of their boasted conquests. They ought rather to be ashamed that ever the sun should see them at all.

“The sight of these poor people has filled me with indignation. This village, whence I now address you, is surrounded by the finest country in the world, yet there was neither bread nor wine to be found in it; and the poor inhabitants appear more than half starved.

“Midst Ceres’ richest gifts, with want oppress’d,  
And ’midst the flowing vineyard, die of thirst.”

After a journey of fifty miles over rocks and precipices, this party of Englishmen reached Palermo, the capital of Sicily, where there was then but one inn, which happened to be kept by a chattering, imposing Frenchwoman, to whom they were obliged to concede her own terms, of five ducats a day. This city is built in a regular manner, the two great streets intersecting each other in the centre, where they form a handsome square, called the *Ottangola*, adorned with elegant, uniform buildings. From this square, not only are the whole of these noble streets seen, but also the four gates of the city, which terminate them. The four

gates are each at the distance of about half a mile (the diameter of the city being no more than a mile) and two of them, the *Porta Nova* and *Porta Felice*, the latter of which terminates the Corso, are elegant pieces of architecture; while the former communicates with the *marino*, a delightful walk, which constitutes one of the great pleasures of the nobility of Palermo. It opens on one side to the sea, whence, even at the most scorching seasons, there is always an agreeable breeze. In the centre is an elegant temple, which serves as an orchestra for music, and being obliged in the hot season to convert night into day, the concert does not begin until the clock strikes midnight. Meanwhile, the better to favour intrigue, there is an order that no person of whatever quality, shall presume to carry a light with him! The Sicilian ladies marry at thirteen or fourteen years of age, and are sometimes grandmothers before they are thirty. The Princess Partana has twelve children, and yet is still in her bloom. She was cured of all her usual complaints on being delivered, immediately after which, her highness saw and enjoyed the company of her friends more than ever. She lamented the fate of our English ladies, and thanked God that she was born a Sicilian!

Our philosopher, after reasoning on this subject, attributes it solely to the climate. In cold, but more particularly in mountainous countries, births are difficult and dangerous; in warm and low places, they are more easy; the air of the first hardens and contracts the fibres; that of the second softens and relaxes them. Among the Alps, the women frequently go down to the low countries a few weeks before they lie in, and find their deliveries much easier.

This is here attributed to the additional pressure of a column of air of 2 or 3000 feet more than they are accustomed to; and if muscular motion is performed by the pressure of the atmosphere, as some have alleged, how much must this add to the action of every muscle! Mr. Brydone deduces from these premises, that physicians are wrong, when

they send patients with the same complaints to Aix and Marseilles, where the air must be essentially different; the latter city being on the level of the sea, while the former, according to his own admeasurement, is near 600 feet above it. In such a country as Switzerland, or on such a mountain as Etna, it is easy at all times to take off a weight from the human body of many thousand pounds; and thus, not only the quantity, but the quality also of the air, would be changed, which on the side of any very high mountain is more varied than in travelling through fifty degrees of latitude.

Our travellers were all present at the superb feast in honour of St. Rosolia; and Mr. Brydone declares, that the illumination of St. Peter's is no more to be compared to that of the chief church at Palermo, than the planet Venus to the sun. The heat by this time had become intolerable, for the quicksilver in the thermometer had now risen to above eighty-two degrees. In this state of the atmosphere the sea became too hot for bathing!

"I am sure," observes our author, "that in such a day as this, in England, we should be panting for breath; and no mortal would think either of reading or writing. — This is not the case here; I never was in better spirits in my life: indeed, I believe, the quantities of ice we eat may contribute a good deal towards it; for I find that, in a very violent heat, there is no such cordial to the spirits as ice, or a draught of ice-water; it is not only from the cold it communicates, but, like the cold bath, from the suddenness of that communication it braces the stomach, and gives a new tone to the fibres. It is strange that this piece of luxury (in my opinion the greatest of all, and the only healthy one) should be still so much neglected with us.

"I knew an English lady at Nice, who in a short time was cured of a threatening consumption only by a free indulgence in the use of ices; and I am persuaded that, in skilful hands, few remedies would be more effectual in many of our stomach

and inflammatory complaints, as hardly any thing has a stronger or more immediate effect on the whole frame; and surely our administration of warm drinks and potions in these complaints tend often to nourish the disease. It is the common practice here, in inflammatory complaints, to give ice-water to drink; nay, so far have they carried it, that Doctor Sanghes a celebrated Sicilian physician, covered over the breast and belly of his patients with snow and ice, and they assure us in many cases with great success. But, indeed, I ought in justice to add, that this physician's practice has not been generally adopted."

Our author found in his own person the efficacy of ice. He could sit in his chamber, and encounter the severest heat, without his spirits being in the least affected, while his store of that commodity lasted; but he became greatly depressed when no longer supplied with the exhilarating draught.

Treating of the opera, Mr. Brydone informs us, that Pachierotti was then the first man, and Gabrieli the first woman; but Farinelli produced greater effect than either of them. All these three performers have since appeared at the Hay-market, as then predicted, and experienced a most brilliant reception.

At length the whole party left Sicily, infinitely delighted with the island, and at the end of a voyage of two days, found themselves once more at Naples, on the 30th of June. There they remained for about three months, partly in order to enjoy the society of Mr. and Mrs. (afterwards Sir William and Lady) Hamilton, together with that of the Walshes, another English family, and partly till the time of the *Mal-Aria* was entirely over.

"You know the danger of travelling through the Campania during that season; which, although it is looked upon by many of our doctors as a vulgar error, yet we certainly shall not submit ourselves to the experiment. We propose to pass the winter at Rome, where we shall probably find occupation enough for four or five months. From thence, by Loretto,



Bologne, &c. to Venice; the old beaten track. We shall then leave the parched fields of Italy, for the delightful cool mountains of Switzerland; where liberty and simplicity, long since banished from polished nations, still flourish in their original purity; where the temperature and moderation of the climate, and that of their inhabitants, are mutually emblematical of each other. For whilst other nations are scorched by the heat of the sun, and the still more scorching heats of tyranny and superstition, there the genial breezes for ever fan the air, and heighten that alacrity and joy, which liberty and innocence alone can inspire; there, the genial flow of the soul has never yet been checked by the idle and useless refinements of art; but opens and expands itself to all the calls of affection and benevolence."

Having indulged in a few more excursions in the vicinity of Naples, the subject of this memoir accompanied the late Colonel Fullarton to Rome, where they spent the winter. On the approach of spring they repaired to Venice; and after passing the summer partly at Geneva and partly in Switzerland, they arrived in England in the autumn of 1771.

Soon after their return, Mr. Fullarton, who was intended for the diplomatic line, commenced his career at the Court of France, and became, first, private secretary to the late Lord Stormont, then our ambassador at Versailles, and, at length, secretary of legation. He afterwards engaged in the military profession, commanded a large body of troops in India, and was finally nominated one of the three commissioners for the government of Trinidad. As for Mr. Brydone, he also obtained a respectable appointment under government, and after the publication of his travels, which procured for him no common share of credit and respect, was nominated a member of several learned societies, and occasionally published many able papers, in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The latter part of his life was spent in retirement, and almost in obscurity; and, having quitted the busy scenes of life, he

died in 1818, at an advanced age, greatly respected by all his friends.

Our author made his appearance in the world at a period when the doctrines laid down by Newton, respecting attraction and gravitation, began to be generally received; while those whose tenets he had objected to had sunk into insignificance. "I have seen many rigid Newtonians," observes he, in one of his publications, "who could bear with much more temper to hear the Divinity of our Saviour called in question, than that of Sir Isaac; and looked on a Cartesian or a Ptolemean as a worse species of infidel than an atheist. I remember when I was at college to have seen one heretic to their doctrine of gravity, very suddenly converted by being tossed in a blanket; and another, who denied the law of centripetal and centrifugal forces, soon brought to assent by having the demonstration made on his shoulders, by a stone whisked at the end of a string."

It was at this period, too, that the Franklinian philosophy began to be disclosed. The doctrine of electricity made a deep impression on the subject of these memoirs, who was accustomed frequently to make the experiment with the electrical kite that entitled the Trans-Atlantic philosopher to the "*Eripuit Fulmen Cælo*," and both his writings and conversation were deeply imbued with this subject. It must have been already perceived that Mr. Brydone attributed many of the *phenomena* of nature to electricity; and, indeed, Dr. Franklin, a little before his death, was accustomed to observe, "that we were on the verge of some great discovery, and that this branch of science was but in its infancy." Our traveller, who was one of his most zealous disciples, had early in life imbibed the very same notion; and this was greatly fortified by an accident that occurred to a lady of his acquaintance, Mrs. Douglas, of Kelso, who had almost lost her life during a thunder-storm, by exposing herself at an open window, with a fashionable cap, mounted on wire, without using an

electrical conductor. The lightning was attracted by the wire, and the cap was burnt to ashes. Happily the hair was in its natural state, without paper, pomatum, or pins, which alone prevented a catastrophe! He himself was at length accustomed to observe, that he never combed his head or took off his stockings without detecting the electric fluid. In short, he deemed this a fifth element, distinct from, and superior to the other four.

Many celebrated writers have agreed fully with him, as to the beneficial effects of electricity on vegetation. Bertholon, in support of it, quotes the testimony of the Abbe Toaldo, who beheld two wild jasmines on the borders of the Brenta, that happened to be twisted around a *conductor*, attain a most astonishing size. On the other hand, it must be fairly added, that Saussure, during his travels among the Alps, thought he discovered the order of nature to have taken a contrary direction.

It has been objected to Mr. Brydone, that by means of his justly celebrated performance he has contrived to engender some doubts in the Christian world. It is urged, in particular, that his philosophical speculations are not consonant to the opinions received and propagated by the Church, "having infused the infidel objections of the Canon Recupero into the minds of his readers."

Indeed, his insinuations against the Mosaic account of the creation have been answered by several eminent divines, to which, we believe, he on his part never took the trouble to reply.

*List of the Works of the late Patrick Brydone, Esq.*

1. Tour through Sicily and Malta,
2. Several Papers in the Philosophical Transactions.

## No. VI.

## GEORGE WILSON MEADLEY, Esq.

THE subject of this memoir was esteemed by his friends on account of his amiable manners, his rare endowments, and his ardent, but judicious, love of constitutional liberty. To the world he was known by a series of publications, which occasionally conferred a certain degree of celebrity on his name, and towards the close of his short career, raised him considerably in the public estimation. During one of his periodical excursions, he visited the author of this article in the country; and he had afterwards frequent communications with him in the succeeding autumn and winter, in London.

George Wilson Meadley first saw the light at the confluence of the Wear and the ocean, having been born at Sunderland, in the county-palatine of Durham, January 1, 1774. At a very early period of life he lost his father; but his education does not appear to have been neglected. After the usual initiatory studies, the youth was sent to school at Witton-le-Wear, a small village three miles from Bishop-Auckland; and it was his good fortune to have the Rev. John Farrer, who is represented "as a very able teacher and excellent man," for his instructor. While there, he either acquired or displayed a certain tenaciousness of memory, which not only distinguished him from his class-fellows, but actually proved serviceable to his future pursuits in life. He was accordingly enabled to master his lessons with a singular degree of ease and facility; and to this he afterwards, at a maturer period, added a certain felicity of classification and combination, which conferred great advantages in respect to his studies. Thus, both in the

departments of history and biography, he was enabled to acquire and to maintain a certain degree of excellence that could not fail, in due time, to acquire him fame.

His family was respectable, and his father had succeeded in trade: it was not, therefore, the *Res Angusta Domi* that entirely precluded him from completing his studies at one of the two English universities. He appears to have been satisfied with the resources of a provincial education, and the usual routine of a country school.

Either unable or unwilling to accomplish this grand object, his youthful ambition was soon after fixed on another, which he at length happily accomplished. Mr. Meadley had been induced, like some others of his family, to embrace commerce as a profession; but he soon became weary of a sedentary employment, and *tare and tret*, and every thing connected with old *Cocker* at length became odious to him.

He had, by this time, imbibed an ardent desire for foreign travel. He longed to realise the dreams of his early youth; to visit the classic land of Italy; to breathe the same air with the poets, historians, and patriots, of ancient times; to contemplate the beautiful scenery which Virgil had so aptly and elegantly described! He was eager to visit the country which had twice subdued mankind; once by arms, and once by superstition. But he languished, above all things, to behold the capitol, and to contemplate that spot where the first usurper of the Cæsarean line, whose life was devoted by the laws to the infernal deities, perished under the steel of Brutus, and the other avengers of Roman liberty.

But to accomplish all this, required wealth as well as energy; and unluckily the former of these was not then exactly at his command. However, he at length made a compromise with his feelings; and, as it was impossible for him to view the ancient Latium as a mere traveller, he determined to unite two characters in his own person, better known to ancient than to modern times. Mr. Meadley accordingly sailed for the Mediterranean, about the year 1796, in the strange and singular character of

a merchant-tourist. He perhaps recollected, that Solon, the great lawgiver of antiquity, had addicted himself to commerce in the earlier part of his life, and during the time when he imbibed and united in his own person all the wisdom of distant nations. Nor would he be displeased, perhaps, to recollect that "the divine Plato" did not disdain to make an investment of the produce of Greece, to defray the expenses of his voyage to Egypt; and that the oil of Attica obtained for him a knowledge of the secrets of Memphis!

After visiting the Continent, Mr. Meadley landed in several parts of Italy; and while at Naples, visited one of his senatorial countrymen\*, ebbing out the last remains of an interesting but scanty life, dedicated to virtue, and distinguished by public spirit.

Not content with this, he touched at several of the islands of the Mediterranean, and thus contemplated many of the places described by the majestic muse of Homer. He beheld with rapture, several parts of the Archipelago, where the females, as in ancient times, still ply the shuttle beneath the shade of a neighbouring grove. He visited Smyrna and Byzantium; he beheld the modern Greek sighing for liberty, amidst the ruins of the palaces and temples of his ancestors; and he had an opportunity to witness the manners of the modern Turk, at once a tyrant and a slave.

Our traveller doubtless kept a journal of his voyages, and his adventures; and it is greatly to be lamented that he did not publish it on his return. The whole of his peregrinations abounded with incidents, and those not unfrequently of a new and singular kind. We know not, indeed, whether he could have enriched his narrative with a shipwreck, or described his piteous situation as a slave at Tetuan or Algiers. Certain it is, however, that the subject of this memoir was exposed to all the horrors of war, both by land and sea; that he was captured by the enemy, experienced soon after all the joys of an unex-

\* The late Mr. Lambton, Knight of the Shire for the County-Palatine of Durham.

pected deliverance; and in short, underwent and overcame many more difficulties and dangers, than are usually conceived by the utmost stretch of imagination on the part of one of our modern novel writers.

Mr. Meadley returned to his native country, at the end of about a year and a half, with his mind refreshed by foreign travel, and his ideas greatly enlarged by what he had seen and what he had heard.

Soon after he had entered the paternal mansion at Bishop-Wearmouth, he visited Dr. Paley, who had become at once the rector and a resident in that parish which contains the mother-church of Sunderland; to this valuable living he was presented by his friend the Bishop of Durham. From this period, the subject of this memoir appears to have kept up an intercourse, and to have lived in a certain degree of familiarity, with that celebrated divine: a circumstance not a little creditable to both, as they differed in important religious points; and doubly honourable to the Doctor, who was of course firmly attached to the tenets of the church of England.

After a short residence of about two years at home, Mr. Meadley, whose fortune had not been greatly benefited by his voyage to the Mediterranean, contrived once more to indulge his taste for contemplating the manners and customs of different countries. Accordingly, in 1801, we find him in the city of Dantzic; and in 1803, he found means to visit a large portion of Germany. His peregrinations, on this occasion, appear to have been regulated with the strictest economy.

After residing a short time at Hamburgh, and rendering himself acquainted with the commerce of the Elbe, he actually travelled on foot from that city through the duchy of Holstein, and took up his abode for a few days at Lubeck. Of this pedestrian tour, an account drawn up by himself is still in existence.

Of the former of these excursions he has also left an account, which shall be here transcribed; but it may be necessary to premise, that although the youthful bosom of Mr.

Meadley had beaten responsive to the first efforts for liberty in France ; yet, as will be immediately seen, he detested the usurpation of Bonaparte, who had violated public freedom, and all laws, both human and divine, solely to gratify his ambition. Accordingly, he augured nothing but evil, both at home and abroad, to arise to a neighbouring nation from his domination.

“ At this important period,” observes he, “ when the unprincipled ambition of a military despot, after triumphing over the independence of Southern Europe, has turned his ferocious troops into the North of Germany ; and, devastating the fertile fields of Hanover, threatens the political annihilation of the yet remaining Hanse towns : at a time, too, when the naval superiority of Britain is once more boldly asserted by the blockade of the Elbe, and the Powers of the North invited by a great example to maintain inviolate the independence of their countries, and resist the intrusion of a foreign host, the public attention is naturally directed towards these scenes of action, and every connected region becomes an object of particular regard.

“ The Elbe claims peculiar distinction among the rivers of Europe, not merely from its commercial importance, but as the boundary of the Roman conquests towards the North ; for there the veteran troops whom Drusus had long led to victory, were awed, under the command of Tiberius, by the warlike appearance of the Saxon hosts, frowning defiance from its northern banks. From this once sacred stream to the western shores of the Baltic, decisive marks of human industry are every where displayed, whether in the crowded streets and stately buildings of the proud commercial city, or in the cultured fields and rustic habitations of the adjacent plains. A general view of this important country, as it appeared during a short but recent excursion, and a more minute description of these two great commercial emporiums, which once formed distinguished members of the Hanseatic league, and still retain the name of independent cities \*, may not, at this moment, be

\*. Hamburgh and Lubeck.



devoid of interest with the British public; however feeble the abilities of the writer, or inadequate his information concerning objects he is thus attempting to describe.

“ I embarked on board a small merchant-vessel, early in the month of April, which, taking her departure from \*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*\*  
 in the North of England, with light and variable breezes: made, during the sixth night of her voyage, the light-house on Heligoland. This important beacon for all vessels whose course is directed to the Eyder, the Weser, or the Elbe, presents itself at the distance of five or six leagues in clear weather, rises 240 feet above the flat surface of the island, and is kept burning during the whole year. Though now the residence of none but fishermen or pilots, Heligoland, or Holy Island (probably deriving its name from some monastic foundation), claims consideration in the annals of Europe during the darkness of the middle ages. It was an important station of the Anglo-Saxons previous to their settlement in Britain, and a terror to Europe during the subsequent depredations of the lawless pirates of the North. Situated in  $54^{\circ} 11'$  north latitude, and in  $8^{\circ} 33'$  longitude east from the meridian of Greenwich, it affords shelter and anchorage, in times of danger, both behind its eastern cliffs and in the channel, three quarters of a mile in breadth, which now divides it from the once contiguous sand-downs. Subjected for some years to the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, it became finally dependent on the Crown of Denmark in 1714. The navigation, in these parts, is rendered peculiarly difficult by the force and rapidity of the currents, when these are not surmounted by a strong and steady breeze. We were consequently plying for many hours, alternately favoured and retarded by each of these contending elements, before we were enabled to anchor for the night at the mouth of the Elbe.

“ At the dawn of day, on Sunday the 10th of April, we took a pilot from the hoy stationed near the red buoy, and with a flowing tide, and a favourable west wind, rapidly ascended the river. Passing the beacons at Nieuwerk, and the

town of Cuxhaven, a small dependency of Hamburg, from whence the principal communication between England and the North of Europe has been hitherto maintained, we coasted along the flat shores of Hanover\*, which present a frequent recurrence of villages, houses, windmills, and churches, but are very sparingly decorated with wood. Still more bare, but equally populous, the coast of Holstein, once the principal residence of our Saxon ancestors, gradually rose above the horizon, and marked the bounds of the majestic river, through which we smoothly glided with the ascending tide. The channel is carefully marked out with black and white buoys, placed in regular succession from the mouth of the river, alternately verging towards either shore. About two P.M. we consequently approached the coast of Holstein, and afterwards changed our pilot at the creek near the village of St. Margaret. Before the ebbing tide obliged us to bring up for the night, we passed Glückestädt, one of the principal cities in this territory, situated on the river Större, a stream which once gave the name of Störmania to that division of Holstein which is situated towards the east. A thick mist after sunrise prevented our taking advantage of the earliest flood, and the morning was far spent before we reached Städt, a city in the Hanoverian territories, where a toll is collected from all vessels passing up the Elbe, to the annual amount, I believe, of eighty thousand pounds sterling. The ships of England and Hamburg alone are excused from anchoring here; but a boat is regularly dispatched from the guard-ship to convey a messenger with their papers to the shore.

\* The roads in this country, if we may give unlimited credit to travellers, who, having reached Cuxhaven in the English packets, pursue their journey from thence to Hamburg by land, are execrably bad, the carriages in the highest degree inconvenient, and the landlords imposing knaves. But ought we not to make some allowance for the chagrin of those who probably for the first time exchange the ease of a stage-coach, and the accommodations of an English inn, for the jolting of a stool-waggon, and the entertainment of a German post-house? For such, therefore, who cannot, or who will not, submit patiently to the inconveniencies of the only modes of land-travelling this country affords, it is more advisable to proceed, if the wind permits, by water, either in the packet-boat lately established between Hamburg and Cuxhaven, or in such other conveyance as opportunity presents.

“The country on both sides now assumes a more engaging aspect; frequent groves contribute to enliven the scenery, and the dull uniformity of a flat surface is interrupted by the view of distant hills. But slimy marshes here occur more frequently on either coast; and strong embankments are necessary, in many places, to prevent the encroachments of the river. To the great detriment of the navigation of this important river, and perhaps to the still greater annoyance of the anxious traveller, the principal bars in the Elbe occur in the environs of Blankenese, and almost within prospect of the wished-for port. On some of these the water is so shoal as to render the passage of loaded vessels impracticable, except when the tide is at its height. In other places, the channel in this spacious stream is so narrow as to render a beating-passage difficult, more especially where its winding course changes every moment the track of the vessel, and a hilly coast occasions a frequent recurrence of variable winds. Wind and tide being thus equally requisite to ensure an expeditious voyage, with a favourable breeze, the vessel is too frequently detained for want of water; and at the height of the flood-tide, impeded by light and variable winds. Such was precisely our case; for we experienced each varying hindrance, as we approached or passed Blankenese, a chain of barren hills, which we had seen in distant prospect, and which rise on the coast of Holstein, from the margin of the stream. A large village, the residence of fishermen or pilots, whose boats were moored along the shore, is situated in the hollows towards the eastern extremity, whilst some more conspicuous buildings crown the summits of these hills. The lofty towers of Hamburg now rose in distant prospect; and as we advanced, the rattling of carriages upon the shore announced the near approach to this distinguished city. But the wind was still light and variable, the flood-tide was almost done, and it was scarcely probable the vessel could reach her port before the close of day.

“Expressing a wish to land, I was readily accommodated with the boat, and in a few minutes landed at the Devil’s

Bridge, a small village in Holstein, situated immediately on the beach. After walking about two hundred paces, I ascended a rising ground to the eastward, and soon found myself in the midst of a spacious road, fringed with gardens, which were decorated with houses both of wood and stone, pavilions, and various other ornaments, in the fashion of the country. I proceeded along a spacious causeway, alternately losing and regaining very beautiful prospects of the Elbe. The road was covered with carriages, some of them in the fashion of England, but for the most part long wicker baskets, capable of holding with ease ten or a dozen people, and all crammed with a promiscuous concourse of men, women, and children, driving furiously towards the city. Though the rapid succession of these vehicles covered me continually with dust, the direction they all moved in rendered me perfectly easy with regard to the road I had taken; for though a stranger to the country, I determined not uselessly to betray my ignorance by the inaccuracy of the dialect in which, for the first time, I should attempt to converse.

“Several houses of entertainment, all thronged with visitors, occurred successively upon the road. It was the festival of Easter Monday: the demon of commerce was asleep, and the Hamburgers were all making merry. As I advanced, a multitude of foot-passengers, continually augmenting, joined upon the road. With them I paraded through the *Paille Maille*, and various streets of Altona, and passed the sentry stationed at the eastern extremity of this city. We proceeded along a stately walk leading through a sandy plain, about a quarter of a mile in length, towards the gates of Hamburg, which I entered unnoticed with the crowd.

“The silence I had hitherto preserved could now no longer serve me: the day was drawing to a close, and I wanted lodgings for the night. After some ineffectual efforts to procure a direction to some merchants for whom I had letters of introduction, or to the Kaiser’s Hof, the hotel at which I intended to fix my quarters, I casually rencountered an English acquaintance. After exciting the astonishment of one of his

companions (at least so the gentleman pretended) at my boldness, in thus daring to enter Hamburg, a stranger and alone, I was enabled, by my countryman's assistance, to procure a porter, and particular directions for every gentleman to whom I was addressed. Fortunately one of these (for on a holiday it was doubtful) I found at home; and, after delivering my credentials, was by him conducted to the Kaiser's Hof."

After a residence of some duration in England, Mr. Meadley in 1809, published "Memoirs of William Paley, D. D.," which were inscribed "To the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, of Private Happiness and Public Virtue." He laments, that after the lapse of three years, such slight notice has been taken of a Divine, whose character as a man, and services as an author, stand in high estimation.

"It often happens," observes he, "that the cast of an author's sentiments may be traced to something peculiar in the habits or situation of the man. It is often lamented that the man should be very unlike the author. But in the case of Dr. Paley, the author is a genuine, grave, and dignified exhibition of the man himself; and those who knew him personally enjoy much more vividly, on that very account, every quaintness of phrase, and every shrewdness of remark, that occurs in his writings.

"His biography, therefore, should by no means be composed on too solemn and sombre a plan; for unless his originality and humour in common life be brought forward, there is no clue to discover the sources of that strong home-touch of his pen, that *practicality* and *tact* in his reasoning, in which he has been very rarely excelled. Hence, the lighter anecdotes related in these *memoirs*, became necessary to a just delineation of his character, though their undue intrusion has been avoided, as they form the relief rather than the groundwork of the design."

William Paley was born in Peterborough in July, 1743, his father being a minor canon of that cathedral. He is represented as a boy of great promise from his early youth. He was sent to Cambridge in 1759, at the age of sixteen; on

which occasion, his father observed to a pupil, "My son is sent to college: he'll turn out a great man, — very great indeed. I'm very certain of it; for he has by far the clearest head I ever met with in my life."

While resident there, much agitation took place on the part of those who prayed for relief from a subscription to articles of faith as practised by the church of England. Young Paley appeared friendly to their views; but when urged to join, he used jocularly to allege in excuse for his refusal, that "he could not afford to keep a conscience!"

Having become chaplain to the celebrated Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, he soon after preached an ordination sermon, in which he insisted, that "frugality is a virtue of the first importance:" he, at the same time, inculcated the advantage of "learning to live alone," since retirement is the foundation of almost every other good habit.

After being presented, in succession, with the respectable ecclesiastical appointments of Archdeacon and Chancellor of Carlisle, Dr. Paley most unexpectedly obtained from Dr. Barrington, the present Bishop of Durham, the valuable rectory of Bishop Wearmouth, estimated at 1200*l.* per annum.

It was during his residence there that Mr. Meadley became first known to him. "The writer of these *Memoirs*, who, during the period of his acquaintance with Dr. Paley, made three separate excursions into foreign countries, generally underwent the most minute investigations after his return. On their first interview, after a voyage of several months to the South of Italy and the Levant, Dr. Paley pressed him with a succession of enquiries, both as to the direct objects of his attention and incidental occurrences, during many hours; nor was the discourse closed even then, but was frequently renewed in conversation afterwards. The queries thus proposed were pertinent, often very forcibly expressed, and pointing to the answer required, but by no means methodically pursued. It is much to be lamented that the heads of such conversations could not be accurately preserved; for they were strongly

marked with Dr. Paley's keen and sagacious manner of putting questions, and with his extraordinary grasp of intellect."

The author concludes his interesting volume, with a very favourable character of his ecclesiastical friend, whom he praises for having discharged all the offices of life with distinguished reputation. He was a good husband, an excellent father, and a warm-hearted friend; and his charity was so extensive as even to include the street beggar.

"Few men," we are told, "enjoyed the pleasures of life with greater zest than Dr. Paley; few men bore more firmly with its pains. He always appeared well satisfied with the lot assigned him, and in all the changes of his fortune, attributed more to the munificence of his patron, than to his own deserts. His life he often stated to have been a happy one, and his success to have far exceeded his most sanguine hopes. His early preferments he deemed a liberal provision, much exceeding his pretensions; and the ecclesiastical situations in which he was afterwards placed, as more than adequate to every object of reasonable ambition.\*

"Dr. Paley, indeed, could never be deemed a preferment-hunter in any period of his life; he was not of a nature to *take root*; he had a mind superior to all those little arts, by which patronage is too frequently acquired. The patronage actually bestowed on him, was either the fruit of private friendship, or the reward of great and universally acknowledged merit. That such a man, in this enlightened age and nation, was not advanced to a bishopric, will ever remain an indelible blot on the character of those, who dispensed the honours of the British hierarchy during his latter years. It has, however, been reported that a late prime minister did actually recommend him for a vacant mitre; but that a very high dignitary of the church being consulted, prevented his elevation by hinting against some passages in his works. His most important services to Christianity were therefore, as it

\* Natural Theology, Dedication, p. iv.

seems, neglected; because, in one department of his *writings*, he had boldly maintained the claims of conscience and religious liberty; and, in another, had given a forcible expression to some obvious but uncourtly truths.

“ The promotion of Dr. Paley to a bishopric, would have done honour to the administration of Mr. Pitt, as it might justly have been attributed to disinterested motives. But, unfortunately for the reputation of the premier, and for the public interest, whilst men, whom it is no disparagement to call inferior, were successively raised to that dignity, Dr. Paley passed through life in comparatively private stations, and died a rector, a prebendary, and a sub-dean.

“ But the truly liberal, of his own and succeeding times, will confer the highest honours on his name. They will ever rank him in the number of those who, by the exertions of a clear and vigorous understanding, have risen to the office of instructing nations, and of contributing, by their wisdom, to benefit the most essential interests of mankind.”

Soon after the death of that very extraordinary woman, Mrs. Jebb, Mr. Meadley, at the request of a gentleman, mentioned in the following dedication, undertook to write her life.

TO  
THE REVEREND JOHN DISNEY, D.D. F.S.A.  
THE  
FRIEND AND BIOGRAPHER  
OF  
DR. JEBB,  
THESE MEMOIRS  
OF  
HIS LAMENTED WIDOW,  
WHOSE HEART WAS IN UNISON  
WITH ALL HIS PRINCIPLES,  
ARE  
MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.



We are told, by way of introduction, that "to preserve the memory of departed worth, and more especially to display the advantages of intellectual and moral culture, and their united influence in alleviating the pains of bodily suffering, and making age at once happy and venerable, is the object of these brief memoirs." The maiden name of Mrs. Jebb, was Ann Torkington: she was the eldest daughter of the Reverend James Torkington, by Lady Dorothy Sherard, daughter of Philip, second Earl of Harborough. The birth of this accomplished female took place, November 9, 1785, at King's Rippon in Huntingdonshire, of which her father was rector.

"As her education was for the most part private, and her early life passed chiefly in retirement, her manners, when she was first introduced into society, were unusually timid and reserved. But by cultivating a turn for reading and reflection she had so sedulously improved herself, as to display, even then, the promise of a vigorous and comprehensive mind. In person, she was thin and small; her complexion was pale and wan, indicating a very delicate constitution; but her figure and her hand were elegantly formed, and her countenance, beaming with animation and benevolence, was strikingly characteristic of her heart.

"At a ball in Huntingdon, she was introduced to Mr. Jebb, a young clergyman, residing at Cambridge, as a private tutor in the university, and a fellow of Peter House. As 'their hearts and understandings were formed for each other,' a mutual attachment soon ensued, and they were married December 29, 1764, when Mr. Jebb had been recently presented to his first preferment in the Church. His connection with the university, however, was not closed with the loss of the fellowship, and his lectures on mathematics and theology were, for several years, most respectably attended. Amongst his friends and pupils he was highly and deservedly esteemed; as well for the superiority of his talents and attainments, as for the integrity of his principles and the manly independence

of his mind. In Mrs. Jebb, he had chosen a companion of sentiments and feelings congenial to his own; and regarding her with the liveliest affection, he consulted her opinion on every subject in which he was successively engaged."

This accomplished lady now presided over the "tea parties" at which her husband and herself were accustomed to receive their friends; her conversation, we are told, and, indeed, we ourselves know, was sprightly, argumentative, and profound; and it was soon discovered by her friends, that such superior powers of female intellect were, by no means, inconsistent with the liveliest sensibilities of a female heart. On all occasions, she was an able advocate for, and gave the most decided support to the opinions of her husband, both ecclesiastical and academical.

"At length," observes her biographer, "the great controversy on the propriety of receiving subscription to articles of faith, as practised by the Church of England, led to a more general display of those abilities, which had hitherto been confined to the intercourse of her private life. Mr. Jebb, conceiving every attempt to interfere with the rights of conscience in the interpretation of Scripture, to be an infringement of the true protestant principles, was one of the most active of the clerical petitioners, vindicating, in the boldest language, the justice of their claim to relief; and Mrs. Jebb, who entered into all his feelings, was equally strenuous in their support: by turns appalling the most formidable champions of subscription, whose productions appeared, like her own, in the *newspapers*, or whose *sermons* and *charges* more openly provoked her attack. Amongst others, she repeatedly addressed herself to Dr. Randolph (the President of C. C. C., and Archdeacon of Oxford,) Dr. Hallifax (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph), and Dr. Balguy (Archdeacon of Winchester), in the *London Chronicle*, under the signature of PRISCILLA, detecting the weak point of their argument, and exposing the sophistry by which it was maintained. But superior to the little arts of controversy, she defended her cause by reasoning alone.

‘Calumny,’ she observed in her letter to Dr. Hallifax, March 24, 1772, ‘never gained a disciple, never satisfied a doubting mind; invectives may harden, but can never enlighten the understanding; no difficulty was ever solved by abuse.’

“Are you, Dr. Hallifax,” continued she, “acquainted with the petitioners? If you are, I think you must know them to be worthy of your esteem. If you know them not, why call you them perfidious? Why talk of their malignity? Their ignorance of antiquity? Why think you that they have an overweening fondness for novelties; and say that they use undue arts to mislead the rising generation, and to bring in damnable heresies? Have they published their opinions? If so, you should have directed us to their works. Or have you been intimately connected with them? Have you been indulged with their private thoughts, and under the mask of friendship dived into the secrets of their soul? And do you thus requite their confidence? It cannot be; the honest heart shudders at the base idea! The serpent who beguiled Eve would not be more dangerous than such a man. No, it is impossible; it is report alone that has raised the alarm of danger to religion; you suddenly started up to combat an imagined foe; and perceived not, till you had discharged your envenomed darts, that you wasted them in air.”

Dr. Hallifax, we are told, felt the keenness of “Priscilla’s” pen so poignantly, that he called on Wilkie, the publisher, to advise him “to print no more of her letters, for it was only Jebb’s wife;” and in her reply to Dr. Randolph’s charge, it was so completely answered by this distinguished female, that Dr. Paley, “both quaintly and happily observed on the occasion, ‘the Lord hath sold *Sisera* into the hands of a *woman*.”

Mr. Jebb, having declared in favour of *annual examinations* at Cambridge, his wife very ably supported him on this occasion: and when, in consequence of his belief in the *divine unity*, he grew uneasy under the discharge of his clerical duties she most heartily concurred in the resignation of his preferments in September, 1775. After this they removed to

London, where Mr. Jebb, having obtained a diploma from St. Andrews, practised as a physician. They now frequented the chapel where the late Mr. Lindsey in Essex then preached, and cultivated an intimacy with the archdeacon Blackburne and Dr. Priestley.

Both alike reprobated the war of coercion, just undertaken against America; took a leading part in the measures then adopted for a reform in parliament; and in all the great constitutional questions which were agitated in the public prints. "Amongst these the liberties of the Irish were pre-eminent, from the formidable attitude which that nation had of late assumed; and they were amongst the first to point out the propriety of admitting the Roman Catholics to the full enjoyment of the elective franchise, as a means of consolidating their recently acquired independence, and of interesting every portion of the inhabitants in pursuit of the much wished reform. For a time, they concurred in applauding the principles and conduct of Mr. Fox; and again in condemning the apparent desertion of those principles, on the ill fated coalition with Lord North, in 1783. And yet, when Dr. Jebb, in a desponding moment, was lamenting that great man as irretrievably lost to the cause of freedom, his wife encouraged him never to despair; "for Mr. Fox, she was convinced, on some happier occasion, would prove himself still worthy of his former fame."

"But they were far from being deluded by the specious pretences of Mr. Pitt, whose sincerity they doubted, and whose new connexions they deemed, on the whole, as objectionable as those in which his rival were involved. As a reformer, indeed, Dr. Jebb had approved Mr. Pitt's early exertions, and, on his first appearance as a candidate to represent the University of Cambridge, had given him a decided support; but afterwards, on his elevation to the premiership, he saw so much to disapprove in his proceedings, that he was actually hesitating to vote for him, when Mrs. Jebb observed, that 'as he promised fairly, she thought a fair trial, at least, should be given

him. They were also sufficiently aware, that it was a contest for power, rather than for principle, in which the opposing parties were engaged, and saw much stronger grounds of alarm than of satisfaction in the conduct of either side. And they were consequently very desirous that the real friends of liberty should withhold their support from any administration which might be formed, until the members should decidedly declare their resolution to bring forward and carry into effect a substantial reform in the constitution of the house of commons."

The following passages, also extracted from Mr. Meadley's work, will still further elucidate the opinions of both, while they record the death of one of the parties.

"On their return from an excursion to Buxton, in the autumn of 1784, their attention was again directed to the great cause of parliamentary reform, while, from the alarming proceedings of the government in Ireland, they were induced to form no very favourable presage of the intentions of the ministry at home. They were led into a discussion of THE RIGHTS OF JURIES and the LAW OF LIBELS, from the memorable case of the Dean of St. Asaph, and the important questions which that case involved. They took, if possible, a still more lively interest in the benevolent design of improving the construction and management of prisons, and of mitigating the severities of the penal code. And, as the decided enemies of oppression and intolerance, they deprecated the continuance of the slave trade, and the imposition of any restraints or penalties, for a difference of religious faith. No disappointments, no illiberal aspersions, could narrow the philanthropy of their hearts; looking forward in the firm persuasion, that under the care of a presiding Providence, all things would ultimately and infallibly terminate in good.

"Mrs. Jebb's affection for her husband, thus identified with her love of freedom and of virtue, was unimpaired by the lapse of years. But a union of this deep and intimate nature, was too soon unfortunately closed. Dr. Jebb, whose professional and public exertions had brought on a premature decay in

his constitution, was sinking fast in a decline, and his afflicted wife, after attending him in a fruitless excursion to Cheltenham for relief, watched over his pillow with most anxious solicitude, and received his last sigh on the evening of March 2, 1786."

After a long and painful interval of grief for the loss of so excellent a husband, this lady soon evinced, that her zeal in the cause of civil and religious liberty had experienced no abatement. During the combat about the regency, in 1789, she saw indeed, in the conduct of both parties, much more to censure than to approve, and she considered them as still engaged in a mere contest for place. She deprecated the doctrine of *hereditary right*, as advanced by Mr. Fox, though she considered it as expedient to invest the heir-apparent with the royal powers. She had no objection to the restrictions proposed by Mr. Pitt, which she thought strictly constitutional; but she was very far indeed from approving the whole of his proceedings.

"Mrs. Jebb had already hailed the auspicious dawn of the French revolution, and sympathised in the emancipation of a great people from despotic power. Having deprecated the attempt of the allied sovereigns to restore the degrading yoke of the Bourbons, with every friend to freedom and humanity, she rejoiced in their defeat. She lamented still more the rash determination of her own country, to take a part in their iniquitous design, and saw no glory or advantage in the most successful warfare, which could in any respect compensate for the misery and desolation to which it must inevitably lead. And, therefore, during the alarm, which in 1792 was so artfully excited, to cover the apostacy of Mr. Pitt from the cause of reform, and to involve England in the intrigues of the continent, she endeavoured to dispel the public infatuation, and to induce a more calm and dispassionate consideration of the real dangers to be apprehended from the delusions of the day. In two spirited and judicious letters, addressed under popular titles, to "*John Bull*, from one of his brethren," she

opposed the absurd reasoning of the *alarmists*, with equal vivacity and shrewdness: and, vindicating the great cause of public freedom, she deprecated the idea of interfering in the concerns of the French republic, and pointed out the calamities which must result from a war as unnecessary as unjust."

Meanwhile, it seems Mr. Fox was gradually regaining the place which he had originally held in this lady's esteem. At a latter period she lamented his rapidly declining health, and wished most heartily that he might live to make a peace; an event, on the completion of which, the wishes of that great statesman were most ardently bent. When he was no more, she turned her eyes towards Mr. Whitbread and Sir Samuel Romilly, whom she described as "continuing honest."

After a long and painful illness, accompanied by a confinement of many years, Mrs. Jebb died at her house in Half-Moon-Street, Piccadilly, January 20, 1812; and we have been the more particular concerning her life, and quoted more fully from her biography, as this work has never been regularly published, and is therefore in the hands of a few of her friends, one of whom has been kind enough to transmit a copy.

In 1813 Mr. Meadley published his "Memoirs of Algernon Sydney," which he dedicated to the Rev. John Disney, D. D. F. S. A. "on account of his steady attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and the early sacrifice made to conscience and to principle."

Our author laments, that while the name of Algernon Sydney has been held out as an example of pure and disinterested patriotism, so little should have been known of his personal history. The meagre detail of Collins has been chiefly followed by every subsequent writer, notwithstanding the numerous and important documents since presented to the public. An enlarged view of his life and character has, therefore, long been wanting to remove the prejudices of the ignorant, and to strengthen the attachment of more generous minds.

“ In attempting to supply this obvious *desideratum* in our national literature, the present writer has spared no pains in his enquiries after new and important facts. And, notwithstanding many disappointments, he trusts that some curious and interesting information will be found to have rewarded his research. If, indeed, he had fortunately succeeded in recovering Sydney's letters to his uncle, the Earl of Northumberland, or those successively addressed to Sir John and Sir William Temple, he might have done greater justice to the theme. But whilst every attention was paid to his enquiries, by the noble families in whose possession there seemed to be the greatest probability of their being still preserved, no traces of these letters could be found.

“ The author's access to manuscript authorities has consequently been confined to a few documents which still remain at Penshurst, unnoticed or misquoted by Collins ; and such, as being deposited in the public offices, which are now, for the first time, presented to the world. But he has endeavoured to supply the defect of original information, by a careful search after all that is contained in the histories, or even in the journals of the times : and he has neglected no means of procuring either facts or illustrations which might tend to the improvement of his work, ever remembering the chief duty of a *biographer*, to trace the progress of his hero through surrounding circumstances, and not too minutely to detail the story of his age.”

The Sydneys, or *Sidneys*, as they formerly denominated themselves, were originally of French extraction. They settled in England in the reign of Henry II., at which period, one of that family (Sir William) accompanied the king as his chamberlain from Anjou. They chiefly resided in the counties of Sussex and Surrey until the reign of Edward VI., who in 1552, was pleased to reward the services of his tutor, Sir William Sydney with the forfeited park and manor of Penshurst, in Kent, on which they removed to Sussex. His son, Sir Henry, was for many years chief-governor of Ireland ; one



of his grandsons was the gallant and accomplished Sir Philip; and Sir Robert, another, obtained the honours of the peerage from James I., first as Baron Sydney, of Penshurst, and afterwards as Viscount Lisle and Earl of Leicester.

Algernon, the second son of Robert, the second Earl of Leicester, by the Lady Dorothy Percy, daughter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, was born in 1622; and it is no less surprising than true, that the precise month and day has never been ascertained by the present or any former biographer. Descended from a line of ancestors, distinguished no less by the splendour of their family alliances, than the eminent virtues displayed, and the high offices exercised by them, this youth soon exhibited talents of no ordinary kind. During the unhappy civil wars, he took part with the parliament, and enjoyed high military rank both in England and Ireland. When it was proposed by the ruling party to bring Charles to trial, his name was included in the list of judges; but although he was present at one or two meetings of the commissioners, yet he declined to sit in judgment on his sovereign. Notwithstanding this, on the restoration, he was obliged to live a considerable time, as an exile, in foreign countries, and was only permitted to return, at the request of his dying father. Being afterwards included in the act of indemnity, he resided in his native country, until cut off, during the reign of Charles II., by one of the most flagitious violations of justice that ever disgraced any state in Christendom.

It is supposed that Algernon Sydney gave great offence to the court, by his answer to Filmer, in which he not only maintained the doctrine of resistance to tyranny, but the right of the people "to change the families or persons who abused the power with which they had been entrusted." The perjury employed to cut him off; the nomination of a packed jury by a sheriff of London; the brutal conduct of Sir George Jefferies, by constantly interrupting the prisoner in his defence, as well as by the virulence of his charge; his subsequent conviction and execution; are all facts well known to the public. Indeed, in the reign of William III., the attain-

der was reversed, and the whole of the proceedings, on this memorable occasion, obliterated from the public records.

The name of the presiding judge has been long held in execration. We are told, indeed, "that the inhuman Jefferies boasted to the king, of the important services he had rendered him by such a gross violation of law and decency; and is said to have been afterwards rewarded for such services, with a present of a valuable ring!"

After estimating his various claims as a patriot, an author, and a statesman, his biographer concludes as follows:

"Such was Algernon Sydney; such, by the liberal and enlightened, has he ever been esteemed. His little errors are lost in the blaze of transcendent genius; of virtues, such as fall not to the common lot of man! Let those who calumniate his character, and revile his principles, remember, that to the practical assertion of those very principles, at the revolution, England has owed her best superiority over the nations of Europe.

"If he formed too favourable an opinion of the dignity of human nature, and recommended a freedom too pure and too lofty for the passions and prejudices of the mass of mankind; it was the error of a mind sublime and generous: the greatest benefactors of their species have uniformly cherished an equal enthusiasm. And while the censures of the venal and the base are heard of but for a moment, the name of Sydney will live in the memory of the just, and his conduct will excite the emulation of the honourable; while his character and principles will be applauded by every friend to the liberties of Britain.

"And if, in the revolving annals of her history, that day shall ever arrive, when the despotic prince and the profligate minister shall again prompt the patriot of noble birth to do or to die for his country; then may the image of Algernon Sydney rise up to his admiring eye; and against the darkness of fate, whether its smile or his frown awaits his "well-considered enterprise," let him fortify its spirit by an example of magnanimity so choice and so complete."

Meanwhile the health of Mr. Meadley began sensibly to decline, notwithstanding which he had engaged in a life of his friend, the late Dr. Disney. This, however, he never lived to complete; for, after a lingering illness, he expired towards the conclusion of 1818, to the great sorrow of his family and friends.

*Inscription Tablet, now placed in the Sunderland Subscription Library, by a Vote of a General Meeting, Dec. 22. 1818.*

TO HONOUR THE MEMORY, AND PERPETUATE THE EXAMPLE,

OF

GEORGE WILSON MEADLEY,

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THIS LIBRARY,

WHO DIED 28th NOV. 1818, IN THE 45th YEAR OF HIS AGE,

THIS MARBLE WAS ERECTED,

BY THE RESOLUTION

OF A GENERAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

---

HIS CORRECT AND EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE,

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND LITERARY,

WAS EVER ZEALOUSLY DEVOTED

TO ADVANCE THE WELFARE OF THIS INSTITUTION,

WHICH THUS RECORDS

ITS GREAT AND IRREPARABLE LOSS.

---

The following composition, which first appeared in a periodical publication, was afterwards printed for the use of, and circulated among his friends, by one of whom it has been kindly communicated to us.

DIED,

At Bishop-Wearmouth, on Saturday last, after a short but severe illness, aged 45, George Wilson Meadley, Esq. author of the *Memoirs of Dr. Paley, Algernon Sydney, &c.* He was endowed with an acute and comprehensive understanding; his mind was stored with the treasures of literature in a degree seldom attained but by the most painful and laborious application; and his memory was

so powerful and tenacious that he could recal at pleasure the details of any event, or the contents of any book that had ever engaged his attention.

He had perhaps read more than any man of his years, and yet his mental arrangement was so clear and distinct, that his ideas were always expressed with firmness and decision; and on the subject of general literature his authority was unquestionable.

"In his opinions he was liberal, although it must be acknowledged that on some subjects, (of which he was undoubtedly the master,) his manner occasionally betrayed a conscious superiority; but, with his great and universal acquirements, some shade is necessary to complete the picture.

"Of the merit of the two works above mentioned the public have formed a favourable opinion, and a second edition of the former is nearly exhausted. If the language of this interesting memoir has been considered occasionally deficient in the graces of harmonious diction, it is sufficiently compensated by an inflexible adherence to truth; and by a determined expression of exalted and manly sentiment. The Life of Sydney is remarkable for perspicuity of arrangement and energy of style; and the political opinions of the author are fully expressed in this bold and vigorous sketch. Of his minor tracts and fugitive pieces it is feared no certain account has been preserved.—A Memoir of Mrs. Jebb, however, is entitled to distinct notice, from its dignified and chastened feeling. It was intended 'to preserve the memory of departed worth,' and was dedicated, with much propriety, to Dr. Disney, who was one of the author's literary friends. In the manner and deportment of Mr. Meadley there were certain peculiarities, which generally accompany studious habits, but which gradually wear away by the collision of polished society. In his general habits he was cheerful and communicative; and in his domestic life, he was a warm friend, a kind brother, and an affectionate son.—His remains were interred in the burial-ground of the family in Sunderland church-yard, attended by a numerous train of friends, who spontaneously joined the funeral procession, to pay their last and melancholy tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased."

Thus died, at the age of 45, George Wilson Meadley, a man original in his manners, character, and modes of life. In respect to religion, he was an Unitarian; in politics, he was a Whig of the last century: he deemed the crimes of Charles I. deserving of his fate; of course, he venerated the memory of Hampden, Sidney, and all the patriots of that day, who contributed to his fall. William III. in his eyes appeared

a hero; and he hailed that revolution, which, altering the ordinary mode of succession, expelled James II. from the throne, and drove him into exile. Faithful to his principles, he contemplated with equal pride and pleasure that second revolution which seated the present illustrious house of Brunswick on the throne, and, by limiting the prerogatives of our kings, rendered their reigns more safe and durable.

As a writer, Mr. Meadley rather studied to be useful than elegant. His sentiments were bold and manly; and he discovered on every occasion an inflexible adherence to truth. He delighted greatly in history, and was enabled, by a retentive memory, to shine in conversation, when that subject happened to be introduced. But most of his compositions were of a different description; and it must be allowed that in the lives of Algernon Sidney, Dr. Paley, and Mrs. Jebb, he has added considerably to the stock of English Biography.

*List of the Works of the late Mr. Meadley.*

1. Memoirs of Dr. Paley, 2 editions, 1 vol. 8vo., 1st edit. 1809; 2d edit. 1810.
2. Memoirs of Algernon Sydney, 1 vol. 8vo. 1813.
3. A Memoir of Mrs. Jebb, Widow of Dr. John Jebb. (It has already been remarked, that this was never published, being printed solely for private distribution.)
4. A Sketch of various Proposals for a Constitutional Reform in Parliament, from 1770 to 1812.
5. Collections for a Life of John Hampden. These being still incomplete, of course were never published.

In addition to the above, Mr. Meadley was a frequent contributor to many periodical publications, particularly the "Monthly Magazine."

## No. VII.



MADAME DE FELESSENT, BETTER KNOWN BY THE NAME  
OF MRS. BILLINGTON.

THE English nation has of late both cultivated and patronised a taste for music, with a degree of zeal bordering on enthusiasm. Distinguished foreigners, male and female, have accordingly been invited to this country for upwards of a century, and after enchanting the inhabitants of the banks of the Thames with Italian melody, have retired to the vicinity of the Arno and the Tiber, to spend the remainder of their days in peace, luxury, and ease. This country, indeed, can only lay claim to one single vocal performer of *native growth*, that can be fairly said, to have equalled, nay eclipsed, those prodigies of musical science occasionally imported from the other side of the Alps.

Of this singularly gifted female, the ablest singer of her day, and the richest professional woman in Europe, some memorial ought, assuredly, to be transmitted to posterity. But as it is difficult to detail some of her adventures, without violating the rules of delicacy and decorum, care shall be taken lest any

thing offensive should make its appearance in a work which, while it celebrates genius of every kind, respects morals, and lauds all the domestic virtues.

Elizabeth Weicschell, the subject of this brief memoir, was born in London, according to her own statement, in 1769; but, on searching the parish register, it will perhaps be discovered that three or four years may be superadded without any great violation of truth; chronological inaccuracies have always been deemed pardonable in the fair sex. Talents of any kind are not now deemed hereditary; yet, if a *predisposition* to any particular art, can be supposed to exist in the human frame, it will not be difficult to account for the early excellence and surprising execution of this celebrated female; for both her parents had attained some celebrity in the musical world a considerable time before her birth. Her father, Mr. Weicschell, who was a native of Germany, had also some pretensions in point of descent; for he considered himself as a branch of a noble family, and his brother was said to have acted in the capacity of a provincial judge at Erbach. Having resorted to music as a profession, he soon acquired a considerable degree of skill and execution on several instruments, and united himself to a young woman who also excelled in the same art. Mrs. Weicschell, however, attained eminence in a different branch of it. She was the favourite pupil of John Christian Bach\*, who came to England in 1763, and distinguished herself in various concerts, during which that excellent master presided. After this we find her in the orchestra at Vauxhall Gardens, where she held the rank of first singer for many years: many fine songs were composed expressly for her†, and, although she never attained the fame of her daughter, yet she long enjoyed a certain degree of reputation.

\* The Bachs were a musical family. John Sebastian Bach, the father, became musician to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, and obtained a victory at Dresden, over a famous French organist, who had challenged all the German musicians. His two sons, Charles and John, were also celebrated performers as well as composers. See Burney's Hist. Mus.

† Among those, was the much admired rondo,

“ In this shady blest retreat.”

One of her contemporaries, describes her style, “ as elegant and florid, and her voice

Miss Weicschell, while yet a child, displayed a decided propensity to the profession which had obtained bread and celebrity for her parents. Such an early taste for music could not fail to be highly gratifying to them both. Her father, in particular, was eager to initiate his offspring in the first principles of the art, and he was seconded on this occasion by his countryman, Schröeter, together with some of the first masters of the day, who were astonished at her rapid progress and early proficiency. Those lessons which to most beginners are considered as a task, to Eliza Weicschell appeared a pastime. The *Piano Forte*, was deemed a mere toy, a plaything, which, like a doll, contributed to her amusement as well as delight, and as the keys were incessantly under her fingers, it is but little wonder that she obtained all the advantages to be derived from a good taste and a brilliant execution.

The *Amateurs* were accordingly astonished at her precocity. When only seven years old she performed a *concerto* at the little theatre in the Haymarket; and immediately after attaining the age of eleven, she evinced both original talents, and a double degree of merit, by means of a composition of her own production, adapted to her favourite instrument. Her marriage, too, like her life, may be said to have been *musical*, for, in direct opposition to the will of her parents, she became united to one of the band belonging to Drury Lane. This proved to be Mr. John Billington, under whose care she had been, in some measure, educated, and who was not insensible to those personal attractions which youth, innocence, and beauty, then exhibited in a high state of perfection. The match, however, did not prove happy; for, although both were votaries of the god of music, their harmony was but of short duration.

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extensive and melodious; although she sometimes affected a *ready tone*, which, at that time, was too much the fashion."

A son and daughter, emulated, and even excelled their parents, so that like the Bachs, this also may be truly deemed a musical family. They were extremely fortunate too, in another point of view, as they obtained a considerable degree of opulence early in life, by means of which they were exempt from all pecuniary cares.



Scarcely waiting for the completion of the honey-moon, the new-married pair, equally urged by love and poverty, determined to leave England. They accordingly repaired to Dublin: and it was in the theatre of that metropolis, where Mrs. Billington first exerted her vocal powers as an actress. Her *debut* was propitious in no common degree; and, indeed, such acknowledged merits entitled the fair possessor to every mark of attention. So great, indeed, was her success, that fame soon wafted back the tidings of so brilliant a reception to her native country, and Mrs. Billington was accordingly invited to accept of an engagement at Covent Garden theatre. On her arrival in 1785, the play of "Love in a Village," so well calculated for the display of musical powers, was commanded by their Majesties, and the new performer, in the character of Rosina, realised the fondest hopes of her numerous friends and admirers. Our heroine, who possessed a great sweetness of voice, accompanied with a considerable portion of taste, from this moment was considered as a first-rate actress, and in this quality maintained her high reputation for a long series of years.

In the course of the following summer, the subject of the present memoir repaired to Paris, for the express purpose of completing her studies, under one of the greatest composers of the age. We now allude to Sacchini\*, who died soon after; she was his last pupil indeed, and derived no small benefit from his instructions.

On her return, Mrs. Billington was received with increased rapture by crowded audiences, and contributed not a little to fill the coffers of Covent Garden theatre by her various attractions. But while her theatrical fame was on the increase,

\* Mrs. Billington had the good fortune to receive the instructions of the first masters of her day. Schröter, was an instrumental performer, celebrated among the *amateurs* for the exquisiteness of his taste, the delicacy of his touch, and what is termed "an elegant volatility of fingers."

Sacchini, a native of Naples, composed many operas, and, after residing some time in London, died at Paris, in 1786. From him she quickly caught "much of that pointed expression, neatness of execution, and nameless grace, by which her performance was so happily distinguished."

scandal, which was on the increase also, began to whisper away her private character. It is to be hoped that all the stories of that day proceeded from the envy of unsuccessful rivals, and that mean wish, which too frequently prevails in society, to mortify acknowledged excellence. Be this as it may, she quitted England in 1794, with a professed intention to visit Italy. On that occasion she was attended by her husband, and also her brother Mr. Charles Weicschell, the infant associate of her musical studies. He excelled on the violin, and by his taste and style of accompanying his sister, is thought to have contributed not a little to set off her talents to the best advantage. This may be literally stiled a *musical tour*, and she must be acknowledged to have been the first Englishwoman, who, in return for the immense sums levied by foreign artists in this country, laid the continent itself under contribution. The *cognoscenti* at Milan, Venice, Leghorn, Padua, Genoa, Florence, and Trieste, were enraptured with her notes; they were astonished at her taste: they heard and confessed the wonders of voice which they almost allowed to surpass every thing hitherto produced on their own side of the Alps. But Naples, so renowned for musical excellence, became the theatre of her glory. The noted Lady Hamilton, then ambassadress from England, immediately took her accomplished countrywoman under her protection, and introduced her at court! Both the king and queen received her with the most marked respect, and lavished the most magnificent proofs of high favour and protection. Nor were the English, then resident in that city, deficient in point of attention. It now became the fashion to entertain and patronise Mrs. Billington in a national point of view, as well as on account of her own particular excellence. Accordingly, the royal example was followed by Lady Templeton, Lady Palmerston, Lady Gertrude Villars, Lady Grandison, and all the English and Irish nobility then residing in that part of Italy, who either affected or possessed taste.

While at Naples, Mr. Billington died suddenly. This circumstance was at first attributed at home to assassination, and

all the horrors of the stiletto were enumerated and aggravated in the English newspapers. It appears, however, that he became a martyr to apoplexy \*, with which he was seized while walking up stairs, in order to bring down a book of music for his wife, and expired on the spot.

This enchanting Syren did not long remain a widow. By the irruption of Buonaparte, at the head of the French army, into Italy, she lost a considerable sum of money, to the amount of twenty thousand *sequins*, which had been deposited in the bank of Venice; but nearly at the same time she found a second husband. † Monsieur de Felessent, who had accompanied the troops of his native country in the commissariat department, became exceedingly dear to her, and made ample amends for the pecuniary losses experienced on the part of his countrymen. He was a handsome man, and possessed such fascinations, that his English wife often declared, "she was then in love for the first time in her life!" Having resigned his post, they lived for some time together on an estate purchased out of the remnant of her wealth, within the territories of Venice.

Meanwhile the English public was eager to pay homage to the talents of a female, who had charmed the Transalpine nations. Invitations from the managers, accordingly, poured in so fast upon her, that it was determined to return to England, for the purpose of receiving the golden shower that awaited the arrival of this new Danaë. Accordingly, leaving her disconsolate husband behind, who appeared extremely reluctant at the separation, to superintend her *casino*, and take care of nearly all that remained out of the wreck of her fortune, Mrs. Billington, after a cohabitation of about two years and a half, re-visited the land that gave her birth. The enchantress re-appeared at Covent Garden Theatre on the 3d of

\* A dignitary of the Church of England, who inhabited part of the hotel, witnessed the catastrophe. It occurred after eating a hearty dinner. As Mrs. Billington was to perform that night before the Court, the secret was kept from her until her return, late in the evening.

† The marriage took place in 1797.

October, 1801, as the heroine in the serious opera of *Artaxerxes*. This was peculiarly appropriate on the present occasion, as Dr. Arne is said to have effected a happy as well as judicious combination of the Italian and English schools. In short, we have been told by an adept, that in the music of this drama "he has consolidated the beautiful melody of Hasse, the melifluous richness of Pergolese, the easy flow of Piccini, and the finished *Cantabile* of Sacchini, with his own pure and native simplicity."

"At the drawing up of the curtain," observes the same writer, who was also a spectator, "Mrs. Billington was welcomed with that warmth which bespoke the high expectations of the audience, and the pleasure they felt at seeing her again on the London stage. At the very commencement of her performance all their expectations were justified. In the duet of "*Fair Aurora*," which she sung with Mr. Incledon, she glided through the chromatic passage which closes the first and second strain, with a sweetness of effect which no one but herself could produce, and gave the minor third at the words,

"Torn from the idol of my heart,"

with a delicacy and tenderness that came from the soul, and touched the nerves of the whole audience.

"In the beautiful and richly-accompanied air

"Adieu, thou lovely youth!"

she was equally charming; her expression was every where perfectly just, and her divisions infinitely neat. In

"If o'er the cruel tyrant, Love,"

she was exquisite. We never witnessed a higher degree of taste, or a more sweet and impressive manner, than she displayed in almost every bar of this fine and original air. Her ornaments, though abundant, were chaste; and the additional notes at the final close, in which she soared with ease to D in alt. were as ingenious and tasteful as they were forcible and expressive. Her

"Let not rage," &c.

was also enchanting, and admitted no idea but of excellence of the first order. The winning softness with which she accented the notes; her high-wrought yet chaste embellishments; the melting delicacy of her turns, and the affecting emphasis with which she enforced the sentiment at the words

“Father, brother, lover, friend,”

sunk to the heart of every hearer, and convinced the whole audience of the powers of vocal music. In a word, nothing remained to crown the delight of the evening but her execution of the noble *bravura*, which precedes the finale. In this,

“The soldier tir’d of war’s alarms:”

she displayed the triumph of her art. We, who have heard the once celebrated Miss Brent, (afterwards Mrs. Pinto,) in this fine song, were utterly astonished to find the performance of that accomplished singer so far exceeded by that of Mrs. Billington. With fewer liberties than first-rate performers generally take with songs of this description, she gave it a force and novelty of effect which perfectly enraptured us. The distances were *hit* with a clearness and precision that evinced her perfect intimacy with the first secrets of fine performance; and the variation she introduced at the repetition of the concluding *division*, as also the energy with which she darted to the key note, in *alt.* kept pace with every expectation her previous excellence had created, and impressed us with ideas of admiration and astonishment.”

Mrs. Billington, at that period, was such a favourite with the public, that both houses vied for her support. She accordingly played alternately at Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden, and was also commonly engaged at all the fashionable concerts. This charmer, who neither improved the head nor the heart, actually earned more in the course of a couple of seasons than all the men of genius in the Augustan age of English literature obtained during the course of almost half a century. In the year 1801-2, the profits of her various en-

gements are supposed to have exceeded the sum of 10,000*l.*; the next season equalled the former in point of emolument; and several subsequent ones were no less productive. Many large acquisitions, too, were obtained under the names of presents, allowances, benefits, &c. &c.: so that at one period, her fortune, the chief part of which was wisely placed for a time in the hands of trustees, "for her own sole use and benefit," did not fall far short of 65,000*l.*!

To enter into a minute description of her life, and mention a series of noble and distinguished personages, who declared themselves captivated with her voice and person, would neither be very delicate nor very edifying. After leaving the stage she lived at a charming residence in the vicinity of Hammersmith in a princely style, both as to elegance and expenditure. Her villa was fitted up with a degree of taste and magnificence seldom witnessed in any rank of life; and under the character of a *professional woman*, she received royal, noble, and plebeian visitors, while some ladies of high title, and connexions, did not disdain to appear at her concerts, and partake of her entertainments, all of which were magnificent and gratuitous.

At length, in 1817, M. de Felessent, who had lived separately from his wife since 1801, suddenly made his appearance in England. It would appear that an absence of full sixteen years had not in the least abated the ardour of his attachment! Flying on the wings of love and expectation, he traversed Italy, advanced rapidly through France, and threw himself at the feet of his long-lost spouse. She, in return, received her husband with open arms, and preparations were instantly made for their return together to the continent.

Her plate and valuable ornaments were accordingly transmitted by sea, while the two old, but newly-united lovers, crossing at Calais, proceeded by land towards the shores of the Adriatic. After re-visiting their mansion at St. Artien, near Venice, it was their intention to proceed to Rome, and to Naples. But the hand of death interposed, and put a period to the travels of Mrs. Billington, who was taken ill on the 18th

of August, 1818, and died apoplectic on the 25th of the same month.

The public is well aware that the private conduct of Mrs. Billington has been subjected to much censure. During her life she was annoyed by some of the most defamatory publications that ever issued from the English press; and, after her death, her memory has not been spared. We decline entering on a subject that shrinks from investigation; and, while we draw a veil over her real or supposed failings, are eager to testify her merits. She was the best of daughters. Her father, in his latter years, amidst declining fortune and increasing infirmities, found a comfortable asylum under her roof. She never was fated to appear in the character of a mother; but what nature denied was supplied by adoption. Two little girls were taken under her immediate protection, at different periods of life. The first of these was selected at nine years of age, and educated at a convent at Brussels; the second, who was the daughter of a friend, was brought to her when only seven days old, and brought up with great care, and the most fastidious attention to morals, at a reputable boarding-school. To this young lady it was designed at one period to bequeath all her fortune; two thousand pounds of which, we believe, were once actually settled upon her. She accompanied Mrs. Billington and her husband to Italy, and was always an object of particular care and solicitude.

It is now confessed by all, that in point of musical talents, the subject of this memoir was the first private singer, not of her country only, but of her age; and this will doubtless be adduced as a proof, that these almost *hyperborean* regions, may one day equal Italy itself, in point of musical excellence. We hail not; on the contrary, we deprecate such an event; as, before this can occur, the manly character of an Englishman must be obliterated; our manners must become degenerate; and our national pre-eminence be lost for ever!

In point of person Mrs. Billington appears to have been lovely in early youth; and to have preserved her charms during a long protracted period. But towards the latter

part of her life, she became somewhat coarse and masculine, Such was her prudence, arising perhaps from her early poverty and acknowledged good sense, that she always contrived to live under, rather than above her income. The pencil of Sir Joshua has depicted her as St. Cecilia, by way of companion to that of Mrs. Siddons, in the Tragic Muse; while Ward has executed a very faithful and spirited representation of the original.

It is not a little singular, that this lady had amassed, at different epochs, three different fortunes. One was spent with her friends; another was chiefly seized by the enemy; a third is partly in possession of, and the remainder claimed by her surviving husband, to the amount of about 20,000*l*.



## No. VIII.

## COLONEL TATHAM,

FORMERLY ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
A FIELD-OFFICER IN THE SERVICE OF THE AMERICAN STATES,  
AND SUPERVISOR OF THE LONDON DOCKS, &c. &c.

[*With original Specimens of his Writings.*]

**B**Oth the life and death of the subject of the present memoir were singular in no common degree; the former was replete with adventures, the latter presents a catastrophe, novel in its kind, and, indeed, such as never appears to have occurred before. Happily, we are furnished with authentic particulars of both; and intend also, to present to the public some specimens of his literary labours, which were never before printed.

William Tatham was a native of England. He was born in the year 1752, at Hutton-in-the-Forest, in the county of Cumberland, of which parish his father, the Reverend Sandford Tatham, afterwards became rector, holding it with the living of Appleby. That the family was both ancient and respectable, may be seen from Burn's history of Cumberland and Westmoreland; and according to some accounts, can be traced up to Lord Morville, who was the remote \* ancestor. His parents had five children, four sons and a daughter, and of these the eldest, of whom we now treat, was brought up at Lancaster, by his maternal grandmother, the widow of Henry Marsden, of Gisborne Hall, in the county of York, Esq. With this worthy lady he resided until her death, which occurred in 1760, when he was only eight years of age.

Before this unfortunate event William had received the rudiments of education under the tuition of Mr. Ashburner,

\* The late William Tatham, Esquire, of Askham Hall, in the county of Westmoreland, was his paternal uncle; and he was nearly related to the family of Lowther, of which the Earl of Lonsdale is the head.

who superintended the "Friends' School" at Lancaster, and by whom the Rawlinsons, the Delworths, the Lawsons, and other respectable inhabitants of that little commercial town, were brought up.

After this he was placed for a short time under Mr. Lee, a clergyman of the established church; then he removed to Over Kellet, where he obtained the remainder of the "scanty education," as he was accustomed to term it, bestowed on him. Whether it was that his father was estranged from him, in consequence of his long absence from the paternal mansion, or that his own circumstances were too narrow to provide properly for his offspring, it is now difficult to determine; but certain it is, that but little care was taken of his future welfare. Here follows his own account:—

"Some of the events of the life of this gentleman, (alluding to himself,) are equally singular and surprising; nor is it one of the least remarkable, that, although the eldest son of respectable parents, he was sent across the Atlantic before he had finished his studies, and actually 'launched,' to use his own words, 'into a world of strangers,' in the month of April, 1769, when he was only seventeen years of age, without profession, trade, or employment, and with no more than one single *family* guinea in his pocket. Bred to no occupation, brought up to no calling, utterly unacquainted with business, although abandoned and forsaken, he was not however lost; for meeting with an acquaintance, he was by him introduced into the house of Messrs. Carter and Trent, respectable merchants on James' River, in Virginia; and what reflects no little credit on him, possessed their friendship until the end of their lives."

Our young adventurer, who appears to have acted for some time in the capacity of a clerk to those gentlemen, at length aspired to become a trader himself. Two powerful obstacles, seem, however, to have intervened, and for a time to have frustrated his hopes. In the first place, he was destitute of capital, and in the next, prevented by political considerations from acting with due effect. At this period, the British

cabinet had conceived the idea of subjecting America, although unrepresented in parliament, to internal taxation. The inhabitants, who disowned any such right to exist on the part of a distant legislature, resisted the claim, and resorted to *non-importation associations*. Measures such as these, by cutting off all commercial communication with the mother-country, proved highly detrimental, and indeed fatal to the spirit of mercantile enterprise. Finding all views of this kind blasted, young Tatham immediately repaired to the western frontier, in search of better fortune, and remained some time there, with a steady determination to declare himself on the side of his adopted country. Meanwhile his family in England considering resistance as rebellion, signified its displeasure at the part he was likely to take; but as this advice was unaccompanied by any pecuniary assistance, and no feasible means were presented to enable him to withdraw from the threatened conflict, he resolved to swim along the stream of public opinion, which was now most decidedly directed towards emancipation on the part of the colonies.

Settling for a time in the Tennessee country, Mr. Tatham undertook the task of systematising its jurisprudence, at a period when he had scarcely attained the age of twenty-four! Nearly at the same time, he obtained a commission as adjutant of the military force of the new district of Washington, where a flourishing capital has since been erected. In this capacity he served during the Indian war. On the attack of the Cherokees and Creeks, at Fort Caswell, on Wantage River, he acted under Colonel John Carter. Towards the latter end of the campaign of 1776, he joined the troops encamped at the long island of Holsten, under the command of Brigadier-General Russell, and during the following year, he also served, with the additional commission of quarter-master, at Fort Williams, on Nolochuckie river, under General Seviars, being then major-commandant. At the treaty, which soon after took place with the Cherokee Indians, our young officer appears to have taken an active part, having assisted in preparing the documents, and conducting the conferences.

It was about this period that he began to study the character of the Indian nations, either connected by treaty with, or distinguished by their hostility against, the inhabitants of the United States. He was also enabled, from personal inspection and communication, to draw up a biographical account of their most celebrated warriors. Accordingly, in another place will be found memoirs of *Attakullakulla*, or the little Carpenter; and *Oconistoto*, a chief invested with kingly power by the Cherokees. In addition to these, will be found an account of *Onitossitah*, or the Corn Tassel, &c., two of the Shawanees chiefs, particularly Corn-stalk and Savanooka, or the Raven of Chota; all of which are now printed, for the first time, from his own original manuscripts. And it may not be altogether unnecessary here to add, that he was uniformly accustomed, so far as truth and integrity were concerned, to prefer the conduct of the Indian nations to that of both the English and Americans, who made war on and subdued them!

In 1778, we again find Mr. Tatham engaging in mercantile pursuits in Virginia, but he appears to have entertained a strong prepossession in favour of a military life, for he soon after served in the volunteer cavalry, under the American General Nelson. In 1779, having entered once more on active service, he was employed under General Scott, who surrendered at Williamsburgh. Having been sent to reconnoitre the enemy, he entered the town of Suffolk, while in flames, just as the rear of the English marched out.

It was on this occasion the subject of this memoir first became acquainted with Mr. Hardy, one of the representatives of Virginia, who was a counsel of some eminence. With a versatility of character seldom to be met with, he now placed himself under the direction of this gentleman, and began to study the law! Soon after this, he returned to the western frontiers of North Carolina, to assist in arranging the business of the land-office. Having spent the winter of that same year, in the western woods, under the imperfect shelter of an open log cabin, our adventurer repaired in 1780 to Richmond, in Virginia, where he commenced Historian!

While at this place, in conjunction with Colonel John Todd of Kentucky, he compiled the first regular account of the western country which was ever submitted to the inspection of the inhabitants of the Trans-Atlantic continent. Here, too, it was his good fortune to become known to Mr. Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, since President of the United States, who appears to have befriended him on more than one occasion.

When Virginia was invaded by the Generals Phillips and Arnold, Mr. Tatham marched against the enemy, in the *suite* of General Nelson; and at the siege of York, he acted as a volunteer with that body of the American army which stormed the redoubts, during the memorable night of the 14th of October 1781.

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Tatham was invited to occupy a place dependent on the Board of Privy Council in Virginia. Soon after this, we find him shipwrecked on the coast of East Jersey, while embarked in a new adventure; and this was followed by his settling in Philadelphia as a merchant.

We next hear of his repairing to the Havannah, in the island of Cuba, "in order," as he himself observes, "to combine a knowledge of the Spanish interests in the West Indies, with that which he had acquired in those western countries of the United States which border on the Mississippi territories of His Catholic Majesty. After spending some weeks at the Havannah," adds he, "and satisfying myself concerning the importance of that place, in respect to the settlements just alluded to, I returned to Virginia, and proceeded immediately to General Davies (a counsel in North Carolina), under whom I finished my studies in the law, and was admitted to the bar of the county courts in that country, by a licence dated March 24, 1784, under the hands and seals of the three Judges of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity, Samuel Ashe, Samuel Spencer, and John Williams."

In 1786, in conjunction with Mr. Willis of North Carolina, he was busily employed in establishing the prosperous settle-

ment of Lumbarton, thirty-one miles south of Fayette-Ville. In 1787, Mr. Tatham was elected a member of the State Legislation of North Carolina. As he was well aware of the nefarious projects of the *land-jobbers* and *speculators*, he entered his protest against their encroachments on the territories of the Chickasaw Indians; and was soon after elected by a joint vote of both houses of legislature, to fill the office of lieutenant-colonel in the division of Fayette.

Having, about this time, received letters of a conciliatory nature from England, he immediately sailed thither, and arrived in this country in October, 1788. On his revisiting the place of his nativity, he was treated very "politely" by his relatives, particularly the late Earl of Lonsdale. When that nobleman gave his memorable *fete* at Whitehaven Castle, to celebrate the centenary of the revolution, he was one among the numerous guests who commemorated the landing of William III. in 1688.

In the summer of 1789, the Colonel returned to America, as no inducements were offered by his family to detain him at home. He had originally determined to proceed to Carolina; but was detained in Virginia by the Governor and Privy Council of that state, for the purpose of affording information to the war office relative to the southern and western frontiers; for, although self-taught, he had obtained very great skill, as well as much experience, in geography. Apartments at the public expense were accordingly provided for him, and he had uninterrupted access to the archives of the state. He next accompanied General Lee, then Governor, in his tour to the south-western frontiers; and also made other excursions in the same direction, in 1792 and 1793, during which he visited the waters of the Mississippi.

Meanwhile, he appears to have practised the law occasionally in the Tennessee country; and some gentlemen of the profession having advertised in the *Knox Ville Gazette*, that they would not give any advice "without being first paid the fees established by law," our barrister also thought fit to lay down certain rules for his own conduct in the same newspaper, some of which we shall here transcribe:—

“ FIAT JUSTITIA.

“ Having adopted the above motto as early as I had the honour of admission to the bar, I have covenanted with myself that I will never willingly depart from it; and on this foundation I have built a few maxims which afford my reflections an unspeakable satisfaction.

“ 1. I will practise law, because it affords me opportunities of being a more useful member of society.

“ 2. I will not turn a deaf ear to any one because his purse is empty.

“ 3. I will advise no man beyond my comprehension of his cause.

“ 4. I will bring none into law who my conscience tells me should be kept out of it.

“ 5. I will never be unmindful of the cause of humanity; and this comprehends the fatherless, widow, and bondage.

“ 6. I will be faithful to my client; but never so unfaithful to myself as to become a party in his crime.

“ 7. No man's greatness shall elevate him above the justice due to my client.

“ 8. I shall advise the turbulent with candour; and if they will go to law against my advice, they must pardon me for volunteering it against them.

“ 9. I will acknowledge every man's right to manage his own cause if he pleases, &c.

“ The above are my rules of practice; and though I will not (at this critical juncture) promise to finish my business in person, yet, if the public interests should require my removal from home, I will do every thing in my power for those who like to employ me, and endeavour to leave them in proper hands if I should be absent.

“ Signed,

“ WILLIAM TATHAM.

“ *Knox Ville, March 21, 1793.*”

In 1794, Mr. Tatham repaired to the city of Washington, and soon after visited Philadelphia, in search of geographical knowledge; but yet he did not entirely lose sight of his profession, for while here he published a case in which he had been engaged. This reflected great honour on the independence of the Judges of the General Court of Virginia; for by their decision on that occasion, they overruled a new jurisdiction not sanctioned by the constitution.

In the year 1795, one novel and singular occurrence was added to the history of a man whose life had been variegated with adventures. Some disputes, of a serious nature, at this period occurred between the settlers in the back woods of America and the Spanish Government. Urged by the romantic idea of preventing a war, after several conferences with the ambassador of that nation, Don Joseph de Jandennes, who appears to have furnished the pecuniary resources, he embarked at New York in the month of November, and sailed for Cadiz. As the yellow fever had recently raged in some of the American ports, he was subjected to a quarantine, and obliged, in the mean time, to transmit his despatches in *a pail of vinegar*. On his deliverance, he repaired to Seville, had an interview with the Prince of Peace, and was most graciously noticed by the Queen and Royal Family. He afterwards repaired to Madrid; but having interfered in some matters of a national kind, and aroused the jealousy of the Government by frequent visits to the residence of the late Marquis of Bute, then ambassador from England, an order was issued for his leaving Spain. He accordingly proceeded to the coast, and embarking for England, landed at Plymouth on the 16th of August, 1796.

The following particulars are from his own pen, having been written subsequently to his second return:—

“ Since his arrival in the British capital, he (Colonel Tatham) has published several literary works, all of which are calculated to promote pacific employments, to attain the increase of mechanical powers, and to contribute to the extension of agriculture and commerce. The character of an author,



however, is best discovered in his writings. The Colonel has, in particular, directed his attention to the success of English agriculture, and the benefits to be derived from civil engineering, which constitute his favourite pursuits. He has endeavoured to awaken the notice of the merchants and citizens of London, concerning the crowded state of commerce in their streets and in their ports; and he has held out the means of relief in an extensive book, containing a plan for insulating the metropolis by means of a navigable canal.

“ In an early part of the year 1801, Colonel Tatham was called to the superintendence of the London Docks at Wapping, where he took charge of the Office of Works, and the various operations of an undertaking, so replete with interest and variety, as to present a most extensive field for the display of that general knowledge which is only to be acquired by experience and intercourse with the world. On this occasion, however, he was somewhat mortified by the idea of checking his own ideas in favour of those of others; for as the directors had condescended to receive instructions from a committee of engineers, who are now dismissed, it became necessary that their plans should be executed without opposition, although his own should be superior on the score of method, expedition, and expense.

“ He was therefore, in general, restrained in his desires that the company should profit by those improvements which result from travelling and observation; but on some occasions he was indulged in his plans. And he hath left a lasting memorial in the first piling for the foundation of the *Drainage Pipe*, which was executed under his superintendence, and driven in *interpiled quincunx*, according to his own suggestions; and although subject to many of those obstacles which ever occur in the progress of new and magnificent undertakings, he has happily succeeded so far as to obviate the principal difficulties by zeal and perseverance.

“ The primary operation of taking down buildings, reducing the ground to a proper level, enclosing and preparing the work-yards, putting the public sewers in good condition,

constructing the jettie for landing materials, digging the steam-engine foundation, piling the engine for boring the *sections of strata*, flanking the drainage pipes, receiving large quantities of timber and stone, in addition to the preparations of tide and other works, have simplified the after parts of the engineering; and a court of directors have at length come to a determination, to complete what remains to be done, by contract. This resolution of course precludes the further services of Colonel Tatham, who is not within that description of persons; and we learn that he accordingly surrendered the keys of office to his successor, at the head of near five hundred orderly workmen, who were mostly discharged on this occasion, and whose prudent deportment, and grateful hearts, bore an ample testimony of the kindness and attention which they had experienced. Whether this radical change of system will be attended with benefit to those connected with the property of the Docks, is a question which time alone can determine; but, as far as their late supervisor is concerned, it would be unjust to omit that his conduct has been amply approved of by his employers."

Some time after this period \*, Colonel Tatham made his third and last voyage to America. Deprived, by the neglect of his family, of any regular profession or employment, and embarking in a variety of different projects, in succession, all dictated by a sanguine temperament, it is but little wonder that wealth, although always present to his imagination, was never fairly within his grasp. An author, an advocate, an engineer, a surveyor, a merchant, a military man, a geographer; yet, with all these resources, he became poor; and as old age advanced, he found that no provision had been made for the wants and infirmities with which it is generally accompanied. This led to one of the most singular catastrophes recorded in modern times. At Alexandria, in Virginia, after participating freely in the festivities of the anniversary of that Revolution which he had

\* In 1805. He chiefly employed himself, during this long interval, in preparing works for the press; and he was a contributor to the columns of the Monthly, Philosophical, and Commercial Magazines. Colonel Tatham, also, drew up a memoir of his own life.

contributed all in his power to promote and confirm, Colonel Tatham ran up to an eighteen-pounder, then in the act of being fired, and at the very moment when the gunner had touched the priming, placed himself immediately before the muzzle, in consequence of which he was blown to atoms by the explosion !

The following articles were some time since prepared for publication by the unfortunate gentleman who is the subject of the present memoir ; and they now appear in print for the first time.

#### CHARACTERS AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

ATTAKULLAHKULLAH, one of the leaders of the Cherokees, who inhabited the banks of the river Tennessee.

This Indian chief, better known among the whites, by the appellation of *Little Carpenter*, was born in the Big Island of French Broad River (being the same island through which the Nolochuckie war-path, formerly passed towards the Overhill towns) so long ago, that he recited various facts of ancient dates (in 1777) the truth of which were strongly corroborated by many respectable testimonies. The place of his nativity, indeed, was then covered with stately and venerable oaks, supposed to be coeval with the last century. This warrior, who was reputed to be a deep and sound politician, took a lead in many of the councils and treaties of his own countrymen ; he spoke well, and had considerable influence. The *Little Carpenter* professed uniformly to be a friend to the white people ; and had, at least, sagacity enough to persuade them he was sincerely so. But if we are to believe the accounts of some of his contemporary countrymen, who were entitled to equal credit ; he was a sly, artful, cunning hypocrite, who deceived both parties to serve his own views, and under the mask of friendship, he was often the secret stimulator of bloodshed ! Certain it is, that he preserved his influence to a good old age, and died a natural death in his native country, about the termination of, or a little after the American war. Attakullahkullah was a man of small stature,

but when young, was admitted, by those who had long known him, to have been as alert in the field as he was latterly in the council. He had several friends of similar age and standing; of them it may suffice to mention, *Oconistoto* and *Onitossitah*, or the *Corn Tassel*. The first of these was the chief king or emperor of all the Cherokee tribes and divisions; and the latter was reputed to be the best statesman, as well as the greatest orator of their country.

#### OCONISTOTO.

This ancient chieftain was a strong, athletic, large man, pitted with the small-pox, and of blunt, plain, downright manners, such as might be expected from a rough English countryman, who takes the shortest road to arrive at the truth. He made it his business to attend and listen to what passed in all treaties; and he took care to preface them with a candid acknowledgment, that he was no speaker and not much of a statesman; but that he had a high confidence in the abilities of his nephew and representative (*Savanooka*, or the Raven of *Chota*) in these matters; and that he should set his hand to whatsoever he said, reserving to himself the privilege of putting him right if he went astray; this, indeed, was a liberty which he would take with any man, however great or powerful. The relator of these facts was once present, when one of the ancient inhabitants of Kentucky asserted a position concerning his purchase of that country, which the old warrior dissented from, and his reply may be exhibited here as a specimen of his manners. After commenting for some time on the terms "sale of these lands," he spoke nearly as follows: "Why, you know you are telling lies! We always told you these lands were not ours; that our claim extended not beyond Cumberland Mountain; that all the lands beyond Cumberland river belonged to our brothers, the northward Indians; and those below the Suck on Tennessee, to our brothers, the Chickasaws. It is true you gave us some goods, for which we promised you our friendship in the affair, and our good will. These you have had according to bargain, and more we never promised you: but you have deceived your people!"

It was a favourite topic with the old king, to recite the military exploits of his youth ; and the writer of this narrative was present at a singular conversation between him and Thomas Price, a respectable old trader with the Cherokees, who had accompanied him in some unsuccessful expeditions in early life. Speaking of one of these, against the Shawanees, Mr. Price reminded his majesty, that they were beaten at a particular place on the river Ohio ; and asked him if they had not been forced to retreat ? “ True, Thomas,” replied the old man, “ I confess that we had the worst of it ; but they did not make us *run* ; we only *walked very fast* !”

## ONITOSSITAH.

*Onitossitah, or the Corn Tassel*, of the Cherokee nation of Indians, though somewhat younger, was the leading counsellor of Oconistoto, and consequently his contemporary, as well as that of *Attakuttakulla Willanawaugh*, and the *Pigeon*. He added to the reputation of a profound Indian statesman and orator, the inestimable character of being uniformly respected for his integrity and truth ; in this last point it was said of him by all his acquaintance, that throughout a long and useful life in his own country, he was never known to stoop to a falsehood. The Corn Tassel was a stout, mild, and decided man, rather comely than otherwise ; and of a smooth and somewhat fat and inflated face.

At the treaty of Long Island, in July, 1777, he was the principal spokesman, and on the proposition of the American commissioners, that the Cherokees should cede a much greater extent of country than was agreed to in the result, the following able reply on his part is given from the memorandum of a gentleman who was present ; yet it is supposed to have been bereaved of much of its native beauty by the defects of interpretation ; for the manly and dignified expression of an Indian orator, loses nearly all its force and energy in translation.

## SPEECH OF ONITOSSITAH.

"It is not a little surprising, that when we enter into treaties with our brothers, the whites, their whole cry is *more land!* Indeed, formerly, it seemed to be a mere matter of formality with them to demand what they knew we durst not refuse. But on the principles of fairness, of which we have received assurances, during the conducting of the present treaty, and in the name of free will and equality, I must reject your demand.

Suppose, in considering the nature of your claim, (and in justice to my nation I shall and will do it fully,) I were to ask one of you, my brother warriors, under what kind of authority, by what law, or on what pretence he makes this exorbitant demand of nearly all the lands we hold between your settlements and our towns, as the cement and consideration of our peace.

Would he tell me it is by right of conquest? No! If he did, I should retort on him, that *we* had last *marched* over his territory; even up to this very place which he has *fortified* so far within his former limits; nay, that some of our young warriors (whom we have not yet had an opportunity to recall or give notice to, of the present treaty) are still in the woods, and continue to keep his people in fear, and that it was but till very lately that these identical walls were your strong holds, out of which you durst scarcely advance.

If, therefore, a bare march, or reconnoitering a country is sufficient reason to ground a claim to it, we shall insist on transposing the demand, and your relinquishing your settlements on the western waters, and removing one hundred miles back towards the east, whither some of our warriors advanced against you in the course of last year's campaign.

"Let us examine the facts of your present irruption, into our country; and we shall discover your pretensions on that ground: What did you do? You marched into our territories with a superior force; our vigilance gave us timely notice of your manœuvres; your numbers far exceeded us, and we fled.

to the strong holds of our extensive woods, there to secure our women and children.

Thus, you marched into our towns ; they were left to your mercy ; you killed a few scattered and defenceless individuals ; spread fire and desolation wherever you pleased ; and returned again to your own habitations. If you meant this, indeed, as a conquest, you omitted the most essential point ; you should have fortified the junction of the Holstein and Tennessee rivers, and have, thereby, conquered all the waters above you. But, as all are fair advantages during the existence of a state of war, it is now too late for us to suffer for your mishap of generalship !

“ Again, were we to enquire by what law or authority you set up a claim ; I answer, *none* ! Your laws extend not into our country, nor ever did ; you talk of the law of nature and the law of nations, and they are both against you.

“ Indeed much has been advanced on the want of, what you term, civilisation among the Indians ; and many proposals have been made to us to adopt your laws, your religion, your manners, and your customs. But, we confess, we do not yet see the propriety or practicability of such a reformation ; and should be better pleased with beholding the good effects of these doctrines on your own practice, than with hearing you talk about them, or reading your papers to us upon such subjects.

“ You say, “ *Why do not the Indians till the ground, and live as we do ?* ” May we not with equal propriety, ask *why the White people do not hunt and live as we do ?* You profess to think it no injustice towards us to kill our deer and other game, from the mere love of waste ; but it is very criminal in our young men if they chance to kill a cow or hog for their sustenance, when they happen to be on your lands. We wish, however, to be at peace with you ; and, to do as we would be done by. We do not quarrel with you for killing an occasional buffaloe, bear, or deer on our lands when you need one to eat ; but you go much farther ; your people hunt to gain a live-

lihood by it; they kill all our game; our young men resent the injury; and, it is followed by bloodshed and war.

“ This is not a mere affected injury; it is a grievance which we equitably complain of, and it demands a permanent redress.

“ The great God of Nature has placed us in different situations. It is true, he has endowed you with many superior advantages; but he has not created us to be your slaves: *We are a separate people!* He has given each their lands, under distinct considerations and circumstances; he has stocked yours with the cow, ours with the buffaloe; yours with the hog, ours with the bear; yours with the sheep, ours with the deer. He has, indeed, given you an advantage in this, that your cattle are tame and domestic, while ours are wild, and demand not only a larger space for range, but art to hunt and kill them; they are, nevertheless, as much our property as other animals are yours; and ought not to be taken away without our consent, and for something equivalent.”

#### CORN-STALK,

#### *One of the Warriors of the Shawanees.*

This chief was averse to the commencement of hostilities against the Whites; but when his nation had concluded upon it, he is said to have boldly addressed them to the following effect:

“ You have now declared a war against the White people, in direct opposition to my counsel, my experience, and my opinion; but as it is the sense of my country, I hold it to be my duty to acquiesce. Remember, however, that I am of long-tried courage as a man and a warrior, and that the right of commanding rests with me. I shall not fight, because I disapprove the quarrel. I shall, nevertheless, be on the ground, and see that you perform the task you have undertaken. Conceiving this to be my duty, I obey; but I shall not advance farther: and no man amongst you will dare impute my refusal to a want of courage.”



Early in the morning, before sun-rise, the proposed action was brought on, through a mere casual discovery of the Indians (in council), by the late General Robertson, Valentine Seveir (brother to the general of that name), and a third person, who was killed; and the action lasted till the curtain of the night afforded the Indians a safe retreat.

In the early part of the day, *Corn Stalk* performed his promise, and lay at some little distance back, in the rear, resting on his elbows upon the trunk of an old tree, and viewing the action as a spectator.

When the militia approached, he is reported to have said to the young warriors, "You now behold the birds which you have been looking after: let me see you pluck their feathers!"

After the action began to be very warm, a young warrior, who had boasted pretty roundly beforehand, began to fly back towards the place where he lay. In the first instance, he upbraided him, and drove him forward to his post; but finding the Whites getting the better, and the same warrior giving way a second time, he shot him, stepped forward himself, encouraged his men, and assumed the command.

From this moment (say those who were in the engagement), the success of the day wore a different feature. He formed his men in three orderly ranks, each succeeding the other; and the front always carried off their dead and wounded, as they retired to the rear to load there, while the centre advanced to replace the front which had last fired.

Thus the conflict continued till dark, and numbers were slaughtered on both sides. The Whites, however, remained all night on the ground; and the Indians made good their retreat, with an address and ability which would have honoured a regular army.

SAVANOOKA,

*Known among the Whites by the name of The Raven of Chota.*

This Indian warrior was by birth a Shawanee; but, by marriage, he belonged to the Cherokees, with whom he

resided : and he was the hereditary representative of the Cherokee empire ; but whether as the sister's son of Oconistoto or by marriage, is not recollected by the writer, who was well acquainted with him.

He was a stout, manly, firm, and dignified person ; of an open, yet serious deportment, dark complexion, stedfast and comely countenance ; and was reputed to be the most powerful man in the Cherokee nation, at all athletic exercises.

He bore the reputation of a great warrior ; and was certainly not inferior, in council or oratorical abilities, to any one of his tribe.

Notwithstanding his fame in war, he was naturally disposed to cultivate the enjoyments of peace ; and he gave several strong proofs of this disposition in the campaign of 1776, when he commanded the left division of the Cherokees, professing openly his aversion to the conflict, and directing their mischief to objects short of murder, so far as he had power to extend his influence.

In the autumn of that year he came to the frontier garrison of the United States, accompanied by *Ninatoogah* (or the Bloody Fellow), a noted young warrior of the Cherokees, a Chickasaw called *Nahoolah* (or the Little Owl), and two or three others, who spent the winter at the fort, and laid the foundation of the next year's treaty. At that treaty, held in July following, at the Long Island of Holstein, he was a principal speaker.

Little more can, now, be said of him, except that a circumstance happened during the treaty which fully evinced his power over the nation, and is somewhat descriptive of their obedience to superiors. While the Corn Tassel (*Onitossitah*) was speaking on a very interesting branch of the treaty, some of the Indians (who were encamped, to the amount of about four hundred, in the island opposite, which was overlooked from the harbour where the assembly was held) had got so drunk and outrageous in camp, that the women were busily employed in hiding guns, tomahawks, and other weapons ; and the whole encampment had become a scene of riot and con-

fusion, which disturbed the spectators at the treaty. The speaker on this ceased, for a moment, on which the Raven arose from his seat, and directed two young warriors, who composed a part of the audience, to step over and *tie* the rioters. They sprang immediately to a canoe, crossed the river, and in a few minutes quieted the camp, as if nothing had happened; and rejoined the audience, who experienced no farther interruption.

It may be remarked that such an affray would have been harder to quell under the boasted regulations of a *civilised* system; yet these were *savages*!

*List of the Works of the late Colonel Tatham.*

1. A Memorial on the Civil and Military Government of the Tennessee Country, published in America.

2. A History of the Western Country, America. — N. B. The facts were furnished by Colonel Todd, of Kentuckie, and the text by Col. Tatham.

3. An Analysis of the State of Virginia. Philadelphia, 1790-1.

4. The Case of Kamfer *against* Hawkins. Philadelphia, 1794.

5. Plan for insulating the Metropolis, by means of a Navigable Canal. London.

6. Remarks on Inland Canals, the small System of Interior Navigation, and various Uses of the Inclined Plane. London, 1798.

7. The Political Economy of Inland Navigation, Irrigation and Drainage, with Thoughts on the Multiplication of Commercial Resources. London, 1799.

8. Communications concerning the Agriculture and Commerce of the United States of America, being an Auxiliary to a Report made by Wm. Strickland, Esq. London, 1800.

9. The same subject continued, with the addition of a Memorial on the Commerce of Spain. London, 1800.

10. An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco. London, 1800.

11. Auxiliary Remarks on an Essay on the Comparative Advantages of Oxen for Tillage in Competition with Horses. London, 1801.

12. National Irrigation; or the various Methods of watering Meadows. London, 1801.

13. Report on a View of certain Impediments and Obstructions, in the Navigation of the River Thames. London, 1803.

14. Navigation and Conservancy of the River Thames, London, 1803. And,

15. Characters of the American Indians, now published for the first time, in the present volume.

## No. IX.



SIR PHILIP FRANCIS,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH,  
FORMERLY ONE OF THE MEMBERS IN COUNCIL FOR THE GO-  
VERNMENT OF BENGAL, AND LATE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
FOR APPLEBY.

WHILE detailing the memoirs of the subject of the present narrative, the writer is well aware that he has undertaken no ordinary task. It is his object to describe a most singular and a highly-gifted man, on whom the public eye has been steadily fixed during a period of nearly half a century. Entering into active life at a period when our youth are still employed in their studies, he soon exhibited rare talents for business. His conduct in India; his deportment afterwards in parliament, in conjunction with Mr. Fox; the numerous and important productions that issued from his pen and, above all, perhaps, the reputation lately assigned to him, as the supposed author of Junius, taken in the aggregate, have ren-

dered him one of the most conspicuous characters of the age in which he lived.

Philip Francis, was a native of Ireland, having been born in the capital of the sister nation, October 22. 1740. His family was respectable, and if not proved both ancient and honourable according to all the forms of the college of arms, it was his own fault: for he disdained to purchase a pedigree; and trusting to his name and talents and integrity, waved the mercenary assistance of the heralds' office.\* The public records of Ireland have necessarily been in a confused state, in consequence of the almost uninterrupted civil war that, until of late, has prevailed in that unhappy and distracted country. Yet there are traces of the antiquity of this family; although it is pretty evident from the name that it could not have been aboriginal. The probability, indeed, is, that the Francises emigrated from England, in the train of some of our great men, and we find them dignitaries of the Established Church in that kingdom at a period comparatively remote. John, the paternal grandfather of the subject of this memoir, was nominated dean of the cathedral of Lismore in 1722, and his great-grandfather, also named John, who became dean of Leighlin in 1696, appears, from Ware's History, to have afterwards sat in convocation at Dublin, in 1704. Beyond this, we believe, all is conjecture; and if we are not greatly mistaken, but few of the *English settlers* in Ireland can boast either so remote or so respectable a genealogy. Yet, in the opinion of the luminous historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Philip Francis has still greater claims than

\* A friend, who drew up a memoir of Sir Philip Francis, which was inserted in a periodical publication, while treating of his descent, observes as follows: "These particulars have been carefully collected from the Heralds'-office, Dublin, and Doctors' Commons. In the form it was discovered by a great antiquary, whose business it was to find materials for the pedigree of Sir Philip, on his admission to the order of the Bath; that previous to the coronation of Richard II., Richard Francis, who bore exactly the same arms as the present knight, was created knight of the Bath; and if Sir Philip does not descend lineally from that person, it is his own fault. The heralds offered to prove it by an exact genealogy; provided always, that Sir Philip would pay down two hundred pounds for such advantage. After maturely weighing the honour against the price, he is believed to have declined that liberal offer."

those arising from either high birth or high station. After classing celebrated authors with great warriors and accomplished statesmen, Mr. Gibbon observes, "That in the estimate of honour, we should learn to value the gifts of nature above those of fortune; to esteem in our ancestors the qualities that best promote the interests of society; and to pronounce the descendant of a king less truly noble than the offspring of a man of genius, whose writings will instruct or delight the latest posterity. The family of Confucius," adds he, "is in my opinion the most illustrious in the world. After a painful ascent of eight or ten centuries, our barons and princes of Europe are lost in the darkness of the middle ages; but in the vast antiquity of the empire of China, the posterity of Confucius have maintained, above two thousand two hundred years, their peaceful honours and perpetual succession. The chief of the family is still revered by the sovereign and the people, as the living image of the wisest of mankind."

Philip, the father of the gentleman of whom we now treat, was educated at the university of Dublin, and after distinguishing himself there, as an excellent scholar, determined, like his progenitors, to become a churchman. As his patrimony was not very ample, he settled in the county of Surry, about the year 1750, where his talents and his writings soon attracted the sons of a very respectable class of society to his academy. As the translator of Horace, his version still maintains a high esteem; and he obtained far greater reputation for learning by clothing Demosthenes in an English dress. We learn his own liberal sentiments on the subject of government from the introduction.\* He was also the author of two tragedies,

\* "Our orator now appears upon the scene in a character well worthy of his own great abilities; endowed with all the powers of eloquence. We behold him in personal opposition to, perhaps, the greatest prince that ever sat upon a throne; yet neither awed by his power, imposed upon by his artifices, or corrupted by his gold. Animated by the love of liberty, that noblest of all human passions, he stands forth the guardian and defender of his country; an equal terror to the tyrant who would enslave her, as to the traitors who would betray. Whatever sentiments that passion can inspire; whatever arguments good sense can dictate; whatever ideas of highest sublimity his own great genius could conceive, the reader will find in the following

“Eugenia” and “Constantia,” and of several political tracts. He is mentioned in Wilkes’s Letters as being engaged in some delicate negotiations on the part of the Right Hon. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, which doubtless precluded that minute application so necessary for the superintendence of his pupils; and Gibbon, one of the most illustrious of them, accordingly complains of inattention.\* By the influence of the nobleman alluded to above, to whom he was chaplain, during which period he assisted in the education of Mr. Charles Fox, he obtained the rectory of Barrow, in Suffolk; and it also appears, by an authentic document, that on May 9, 1764, he was appointed to the preferment of joint-chaplain to Chelsea College. Being thus amply provided for, he obtained the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and as he was now exempt from all cares relative to fortune, he had nothing to attend to but the advancement of his son Philip, a subject which formed the chief object of his attention towards the latter part of his life. Meanwhile he lived in intimacy with all the ablest men of the age. His friendship with Garrick is well known, and we learn from Murphy, that he lived in intimacy with Dr. Johnson.

Until he had attained the age of ten, young Philip Francis remained in the land that gave him birth, and was educated

orations, philippics, and olynthiacs. After such a character of them, what modest excuse can be made for the translator? He professes, and surely without suspicion of affectation, his apprehension of sinking under the attempt. Yet, while he feels the influence of the same passions that animate the original, he will not wholly despair of the translation.” This version was dedicated to his patron the first Lord Holland, to whom he was domestic chaplain.

\* “As I approached my 16th year, nature displayed in my favour her mysterious energies; my constitution was fortified and fixed; my unexpected memory again encouraged the hope of my education; and I was placed at Esher in Surry, in the house of the Rev. Mr. Philip Francis, in a pleasant spot, which promised to unite the various benefits of air, exercise, and study (January, 1752). The translator of Horace might have taught me to relish the Latin Poets, had not my friends discovered, in a few weeks, that he preferred the pleasures of London to the instruction of his pupils. My father’s perplexity at this time, rather than his prudence, was urged to embrace a singular and desperate measure—Without preparation or delay, he carried me to Oxford, and I was matriculated in the University as a gentleman commoner of Magdalen College before I had accomplished the fifteenth year of my age. (April 3, 1752,)” &c.



under Mr. Thomas Ball, the successor of Dr. Dunkin, names well known in the metropolis of Ireland, in a school kept in a church, in Ship Street Dublin. In the beginning of 1750, he came over to England, and was soon after placed on the foundation of St. Paul's school, the master of which then was Mr. George Thicknesse, brother to the celebrated governor of the same name, and consequently uncle to the late Lord Audley. Here he remained for about three years, and was ever after accustomed to mention his very respectable instructor with reverence and regard. Indeed the esteem was mutual, for the writer of this article has heard from one of the near connexions of this gentleman, that he was accustomed to observe "that Francis and Rosinghagen were the two most promising youths ever placed under his care." And it is not a little remarkable that such was their estimation in after life, that each of these in succession, obtained the credit of being Junius. Henry S. Woodfall, the printer of the Public Advertiser, was another of his schoolfellows.

In 1756, when only sixteen years of age, the patron of his father nominated the youth to a place in the Secretary of State's office; and Mr. Wood, secretary to the first William Pitt, recommended him to that celebrated commoner, when he succeeded to the department of Mr. Fox. Thus early in life he was honoured with the acquaintance of the greatest statesman England has produced in modern times, and to whom, if we mistake not, he sometimes acted as an amanuensis.

It was through his influence that, when scarcely eighteen years of age, young Francis was appointed private secretary to General Bligh, who was nominated to conduct one of those numerous expeditions by which the attention of France was at that time distracted, and her king, ministers, and troops finally harassed into a sincere desire for peace. In 1758, Commodore, afterwards Admiral Lord Howe, who was entrusted with the command of the naval forces, having effected the disembarkation of a body of troops, seized on, and destroyed the harbour and basin of Cherbourg. Soon after this, General Bligh

landed his forces, under the protection of the guns of the fleet, about two miles to the westward of St. Maloes, but nevertheless did not deem it prudent to attack the city; and when the Duc D'Aguillon, then Governor of Brittany advanced against him, he thought fit to retire towards St. Cas, where the English squadron was stationed. Young Francis, not content with the labour of writing the dispatches announcing the retreat, was actually present and in the ranks, although without arms, when that action commenced, which ended in the slaughter and capture of a portion of our rear guard.

The next station occupied by him, was a diplomatic one. In 1760, by the same recommendation that was before interposed in his favour, he was nominated Secretary to the Earl of Kinnoul.\* This Scotch nobleman, having been appointed ambassador to Portugal; he and his *suite* witnessed two extraordinary events, while residing at the court of Lisbon. One of these, in conformity to the policy of the House of Braganza, was the marriage of the late queen to her uncle, which was afterwards followed by an union on the part of the Prince of Brazils, their son, with his own aunt. The other was the fate of Gabriel Malagrida, an eloquent Jesuit, who was burnt by the inquisition, under pretext of being a heretic. As Mr. Francis is likely to have witnessed the latter act, and as he lived long enough in that country, to observe all the secret springs of its government, it is not at all improbable, that his

\* "In the early part of my life, I had the good fortune to hold a place, very inconsiderable in itself, but immediately under the Earl of Chatham. He descended from his station to take notice of mine, and he honoured me with repeated marks of his favour and protection. How warmly, in return, I was attached to his person, and how far I have been grateful to his memory, they who knew me, know. *I admired him as a great, illustrious, faulty, human being, whose character, like all the noblest works of human composition, should be determined by its excellencies, not its defects.*

"I should not have mentioned these circumstances, though I confess I am proud of them, if they did not lead me to the subject immediately in question. In the year 1760, Mr. Secretary Pitt recommended it to the late king, to send the present Earl of Kinnoul Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Lisbon. The same recommendation engaged the noble lord to appoint me his secretary."

Mr. Francis's Speech, February 12. 1787.

hatred of tyranny, in every shape and form, was heightened, if not created, during the period he spent in this mission.

But his residence on the continent was not of long duration, for in 1763 we find him once more in England, where he obtained an appointment of considerable importance, from the Right Honourable Wellebore Ellis, afterwards Lord Mendip, and then Secretary at War, in his own office. This place, which required constant attendance, enabled him, at the same time, to have free and constant intercourse both with public men and public measures, during the space of eight or nine years. It was at this period, according to Mr. Taylor, in his "Junius identified," that he appeared as a writer in the Public Advertiser, under that and other signatures\*, and occupied, nay ingrossed the public curiosity.

In March, 1772, Mr. Francis resigned his employment, in consequence of the treatment of Lord Barrington, who had succeeded Mr. Ellis. This event took place in March, 1772, and we find the retreat of himself, and another gentleman, noticed by "Veteran," on the 23d of that same month, who is supposed to have been "Junius" in disguise, in the Morning Advertiser, in the following terms: "The worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyley out of the War Office, has, at last, contrived to expel Mr. Francis."

Soon after this, all intercourse on the part of Junius, with the public, appears to have ceased, for a considerable period; and it is not a little remarkable, that in the *interim* Mr. Francis was abroad. The spring, summer, and autumn of 1772 were all spent by him in travelling on the continent, in conjunction with his friend the late Mr. Godfrey. In company with him he passed over to Flanders, and thence penetrated into Germany. The Tyrol and Italy were also visited by them; and, in opposition to the practice of most travellers, instead of proceeding, they returned by France. During his residence at Rome, Mr. Francis repaired to Castel Gon-

\* Veteran, Marcus, Brutus, &c. &c.

dolfo, where he had an interview with Pope Ganganelli, the particulars of which are said to have been communicated to a man of letters, of some celebrity, with whom he was intimately acquainted, the late John Campbell, LL. D., author of the "Political Survey of Great Britain." It will be doubtless found among his papers.

It appears from Woodfall's edition of the letters of that celebrated writer, that Junius did not renew his intercourse with the printer during this interval, and much stress has been also laid on this circumstance, by the ingenious gentleman who has been at such pains to prove that the subject of this memoir was the author.

In about a year after Mr. Francis's return, he was nominated one of the members of the council of Bengal. To this high and honourable situation, which, we believe, was accompanied by a salary of 10,000*l. per annum*, he appears to have been recommended through the influence of Lord Barrington with Lord North, afterwards Earl of Guilford, who was then prime minister. He was appointed in June, 1773, in conjunction with the late General John Clavering, a man of great integrity, who was also appointed Commander-in-chief; Colonel George Monson, who had served and distinguished himself in India; and Richard Barwell, Esq. who, like himself, was a civilian: all of whom are now dead. He was not presented, however, to his Majesty, until November 19th of the same year. Indeed, it was not until the summer of 1774, that these gentlemen set out on their mission, and by that time Dr. Francis was no more. This fond father did not live long enough to behold all his own plans realised, in the prosperity of a darling son, having died about a twelvemonth before.\*

It may be here necessary, by way of elucidation, briefly to state the precise situation of the East India Company at this juncture, in order to point out the real or supposed necessity for the intervention of government in its affairs.

\* Dr. Francis expired, after a tedious illness, at Bath, in March, 1773.

Asia was but imperfectly known to the ancients, notwithstanding the conquests of Alexander, and the long-continued intercourse kept up with the East, through Egypt, by the Romans. The writings of Marco Paolo, a Venetian traveller, afforded but an imperfect glimpse of the remote portions of this continent, and it was not until Vaquez di Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, in modern times, that any just idea could be formed of the wealth, industry, and resources, of so many distant nations. The Portuguese were the first to enjoy the advantages of this discovery; and England, at length, during the enterprising reign of Elizabeth, began to participate in the trade to the East.

A company of merchant adventurers having been formed, soon acquired considerable commercial eminence, by the establishment of factories which facilitated the interchange of commodities. Poor, humble, and dependant, they at first courted the native princes, with the most servile marks of adulation, and willingly became the tributaries of the Great Mogul. Attaining wealth, numbers, and consequence, by the immense profits derived from trade, they soon exhibited a train of policy, a display of ambition, and an extent of success, hitherto unexampled in the annals of any commercial company in the world. But it was reserved for one of their clerks, who happened to assume a military garb, to open the way to the sovereignty of a large portion of Asia. This was effected by Mr. Clive, at the battle of Plassey, which, in the end, produced the downfall of the native chiefs, and the entire dependence, not only of rajahs and nabobs, but even of the Emperor of Hindostan himself. At this present moment, above fifty millions of mankind are, in some measure, consigned to the charge of the heads of one great commercial *firm* in Leadenhall-street.

But a grand question soon originated in another quarter. This respected the territorial sovereignty of the newly-acquired provinces; and, according to the opinions of all the great English lawyers, soon after acted upon by the legislature, this could alone appertain to the King of England, who had granted a

monopoly of trade, wholly distinct from any supposed rights arising out of conquest. Accordingly, the Minister of that day introduced a bill, in 1773, by which the civil government of Bengal was to be vested in a governor-general and council, while the judicial administration was to be regulated by a supreme court of justice. At this period, appeared on the scene Governor Warren Hastings\*, a man of great and original abilities, well acquainted with the affairs and languages of India, and in whose character there cannot possibly be any medium; for he was either the most virtuous or the most guilty of all those adventurers who have exchanged the banks of the Thames for those of the Ganges. Replete with projects, he kept up diplomatic agents at every court in India; burning with ambition, he recurred to war on all occasions, for the purposes of consolidating his dominion; and if there be any sound policy, or conspicuous merit, in the late additions to our Asiatic dominions, he must be allowed to have laid the foundations of our present extensive, and perhaps unwieldy empire.

The new Counsellors, together with the new Chief Justice (Sir Elijah Impey), at length arrived in Bengal, in the month of October, 1774. Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, among whom an entire union of sentiment prevailed, from the first seem to have been detected by Mr. Hastings, who neither treated them with the honours due to their rank; nor the attention which their personal merits entitled them to.

The affairs of India were discovered by them to be in a most critical situation; for while Hyder Ally menaced the safety, and even the existence of the British possessions, on one hand, the Mahrattas, then a powerful state, threatened war, in consequence of the protection of the English Government, to *Raganont Row*, the assassin of his own nephew, who was then Peishwa. In obedience to their instructions at home, the triumvirate determined to adopt a new and more liberal policy; and they accordingly entered a minute on the records, "That peace with the country powers, together with an invio-

\* See a memoir of the Right Honourable Warren Hastings, vol. iii. p. 240.

lable observance of public faith, and a strict attention to justice in all transactions with the natives, constituted the system of policy most advantageous for the interests of the British nation." As they constituted a majority, they were enabled to carry some of their plans into execution, in opposition to Mr. Hastings, and his faithful adherent Mr. Barwell. The alliance with Rugobah was accordingly disavowed, and peace was effected with the Mahrattas. In consequence of express orders from the Court of Directors, they also made enquiries into all the acts of bribery, peculation, and oppression, committed by any of the Company's servants.

Among the persons adduced as evidences on this occasion, were Nundcomar, a native of great power and consequence, and his son Rajah Goudrass, both of whom, in the most direct and unqualified terms, accused the Governor-General of bribery! This charge was corroborated by a letter from Munny Begum, who had transmitted the sums in question; and Cantoo Baboo, the Banyan of Mr. Hastings, was summoned as one privy to the whole transaction, but was never allowed to be produced. Instead of meeting the charge fairly and openly, Nundcomar was instantly arrested on a charge of forgery; and having been committed to the common jail, was convicted and executed, for the breach of an act of parliament that did not extend to Scotland, and was never before supposed capable of being applied to Asia.

The sudden death of General Clavering and Colonel Monson obtained a superiority for the Governor-General in council; and this circumstance, in addition to a bad state of health, rendered Mr. Francis anxious to return to Europe. But not content with his triumph, Mr. Hastings communicated the following minute to his adversary, on the night of the 14th of August, 1780, which led to the most serious consequences, as it was both *personal* and *offensive* in no common degree: —

" My authority for the opinions which I have declared concerning Mr. Francis, depended on facts which have passed within my own certain knowledge. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be

void of *truth* and *honour*. This is a severe charge, but temperately and deliberately made, from the firm persuasion that I owe this justice to the public and myself, as the only redress to both for artifices of which I have been a victim; and which threaten to involve their interests with disgrace and ruin. The only redress for a fraud, for which the law has made no provision, is the exposure of it." This outrageous paper produced an immediate challenge, and the subject of this memoir was shot through the body.

Soon after his recovery, Mr. Francis embarked for England. He left Bengal in December 1780, and, after spending five months at St. Helena, arrived in England in October 1781.

On his return, the gates of the India House were shut against him, notwithstanding he had enforced some of, and endeavoured to fulfil all their orders. On the other hand, Mr. Hastings, who had been twice recalled for malversation by the Court of Directors, and accused by Mr. Dundas, while occupying a high situation in the Government, "of the most flagrant violence and oppression, and of the grossest breach of faith, committed against Cheyt Sing, the Rajah of Benares," was now in high favour. Fortunately for him, he had concluded the war in India with success. He had, indeed, increased the debts to a fearful extent; but he had also enlarged the territories of the Company, and the means were supposed to be justified by the end. Some of his friends deprecated enquiry during his absence, and ridiculed the idea of a Governor-General of India "weathering the storm by an European compass;" while others calmly declared, "that it would be the greatest injustice to punish him for malversation, without restoring the property so obtained to the right owners."

On the other hand, one of the greatest orators of this or any other age or country, soon after taunted the Governor-General with his misdeeds, in open parliament. After accusing the Court of Directors of that day with the grossest hypocrisy, bitterly remarking, "That utter ruin, and premature death, had been among the fruits of their favour," he continued as follows:—



“ The death of Colonel Monson and Sir John Clavering, and the *disgrace* of Mr. Francis, men who had been sent out to reform the abuses of the Company’s government, and whose conduct had received their uniform applause, amply confirm this observation ; but far worse has been the fate of the poor creatures the natives of India, whom the hypocrisy of the Company had betrayed into complaints of oppression, and discoveries of peculation. The first woman in Bengal, a person of princely rank, who had paid above 200,000*l.* a year quit-rent to the State, was, according to very credible information, so completely beggared by her thoughtless trust in the Company’s honour, as to stand in need of alms. The affair of Nundcomar is well known : by an insult on every thing which India held respectable and sacred, he had been hanged for a pretended crime, by an *ex post facto* act of parliament, in the midst of his evidence against Mr. Hastings. The accuser they saw hanged. The culprit, without acquittal or enquiry, triumphed on the ground of that murder : a murder, not of Nundcomar only, but of living testimony, and of evidence yet unborn. From that time, not a complaint has been heard from the natives against their governors. All the grievances of India had found a complete remedy.”

Meanwhile, Mr. Francis hoped that a day of account would come, when the character of his adversary should be developed, and that of himself and his deceased friends fully and successfully vindicated. On the dissolution of parliament in 1784, he was elected for the borough of Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and is supposed soon after to have given offence to Mr. Pitt, by emphatically exclaiming, after he had pronounced an animated eulogy on the late Lord Chatham, “ But he is dead, and has left nothing in this world that resembles him !” He now took an active and independent part in the debates of the House of Commons ; and while he was looked up to as an oracle, in respect to the affairs of the East, no one ever displayed more zeal and activity in securing for his own countrymen the blessings of a free constitution.

At length, on the 9th of October 1785, alarmed, perhaps, at the clause of the bill introduced by Mr. Pitt, and generously objected to by Mr. Francis, to oblige every person returning from India, to deliver in a statement of his fortune, on oath, Governor Hastings embarked for Europe. He had conciliated a number of great families in England, by providing for, and enriching their younger branches and dependents. His agents, too, were not sparing of their favours: the press was subsidised, a host of venal writers was enlisted, and the spoils of the East were said to have been lavished profusely, to secure new and retain old adherents. So little alarmed were his friends, that a member of parliament \*, who had undertaken the management of his political concerns, actually dared his adversaries to the contest, and invited a parliamentary enquiry.

Notwithstanding this, on the 17th of February, 1786, Mr. Burke moved for certain papers; and on the 4th of April, presented several articles, charging Warren Hastings, esquire, late Governor of Bengal, with high crimes and misdemeanours, and with exhibiting gross cruelty, treachery, and injustice, by hiring British soldiers for extirpating the Rohillas; for bereaving the Great Mogul of territory and tribute; with extortion, followed by expulsion, in respect to the Rajah of Benares; with cruelty to the royal family of Oude; with having ruined the fertile province of Farruckabad, by six successive revolutions; with receiving money in opposition to the orders of the Company; with having conducted himself with treachery to Muzuffer Jung, who had been placed under his guardianship; and with enormous extravagance and bribery, with a view to enrich his dependents and favourites. All these charges, originally eleven in point of number, were afterwards reduced to four: Benares, the Begums, the presents, and the contracts. Whatever was done on this subject was doubtless effected with the privity of Mr. Francis: for without him, even Mr. Burke himself would have been bewildered in the mazes of oriental politics. But the assistance afforded on this occasion,

\* Major Scott.

became a ground of disapprobation, and even of displeasure, in a certain quarter. Notwithstanding this, in the spring of 1787, he moved the revenue charge against Mr. Hastings, and that, too, with such ability and efficacy, that he carried it with a high hand, against the eloquence of the premier, and the whole strength of Government and the Indian interest, the numbers being 71 to 55. This excited a certain spirit of opposition, if not of revenge; and, accordingly, when the managers were nominated, the subject of this memoir was excluded from the list of candidates. Mr. Fox proposed his name, in a speech highly complimentary both to his talents and his virtues; for, after enumerating the different qualities requisite in a public accuser, he declared that they all centred in the gentleman then proposed by him. "In such a character, innocence and integrity were indispensable ingredients. It was necessary that he who preferred an accusation against another, should himself be blameless, and his reputation unsuspected. That this was the case with Mr. Francis was universally known. He had been selected a parliamentary delegate to India in the year 1773, in consequence of the reputation he bore. He had returned with the approbation and confidence of the East India Company; and the testimony of his friends was confirmed and corroborated by those of his enemies.

"By a steady hostility to the malversation of others, he had provoked the most rigid scrutiny into his own conduct. Had any acts of delinquency been discoverable in him, they must long since have been brought before the public.

"It was fit that an accuser should possess talents. What were the natural abilities of Mr. Francis, it was needless to state in a place where they were so well known. What were his acquired abilities on the subject of the prosecution, must be equally evident from the opportunities he had enjoyed. It was much to have been in India; it was much to have been acquainted with the evasions and tergiversations under which Mr. Hastings had been accustomed to screen his obliquities. There were but few men from that quarter who would dare to

assume the character of an accuser, or whose own conduct would stand the test of enquiry.

“ Lastly, he conceived that it was no less requisite in an accuser, that he should entertain no partiality in favour of the accused; that he should not be indifferent to the end of the prosecution, and that he should be animated with an honest indignation against the crimes, and the criminal whom he attempted to bring to justice.

“ If Mr. Francis was disposed to cherish enmity to Mr. Hastings, it was not a private but a public enmity; a dislike not founded on antipathy to his person, but in a just sense of the crimes he had committed, and the trust he had abused.”

Towards the conclusion, Mr. Fox entered into an eulogium on the conduct of this gentleman, relative to his plans for the government of our Asiatic settlements, and observed, “ If ever India should be well governed, if the corruptions that had prevailed in that country should ever be corrected, the discovery was to be imputed to Mr. Francis. He had, with infinite application and ability, brought forward the abuses of the East India administration to the notice of this country. By means of his local and personal knowledge, he had developed the whole mystery of corruption. He had enforced it on the conviction of the house; he had persuaded an unwilling audience; for no man was willing to become an accuser. Would the house, now that they had adopted the accusation, and made it their own, prevent its author from supporting it at the bar of the House of Lords, where he only could support it with effect?”

The late Mr. Windham delivered his sentiments on the same subject. He observed, “ That in all judicial proceedings, the truth was to be discovered through the contention and opposition of the parties, or their advocates. It was, perhaps, by confounding the functions of a witness and an accuser, that members were induced to entertain so ill-founded an idea, as that private resentment unfitted a man for the character of an accuser. Even a witness was not disqualified for partiality;

for, in fact, every witness was in some degree partial; and if the judge perceived in him a more than ordinary degree of animosity, he only heard him with the more caution, and questioned him with the greater strictness.

“ But did Mr. Francis really labour under that impression? He could see no reason to imagine it, unless the necessary consequence of a duel was perpetual enmity. Would a private individual, having a law-suit with another, and that other fastening a quarrel upon him, immediately, on that account, relinquish his cause, and give up his property? Mr. Windham hoped that no one would pretend to argue, that it would be more incumbent where the person was only a trustee for another. This was Mr. Francis's case: he had been entrusted by the public, he saw the public wronged by Mr. Hastings, and he determined to do justice to his masters by bringing the delinquent to an account for his malversation. The delinquent quarrelled with him, and they fought; and for that reason, merely because a private injury was superadded to public offences, the public were to lose the means of bringing to punishment the person who had violated the trust they had reposed in him.”

Mr. Pitt having observed, “ That the question, in his opinion, was a question of feeling, and not of argument; and that he was disinclined to appoint, as a representative of the House of Commons, the only member who had, on a former occasion, been engaged in a personal contest with the accused,” Mr. Burke ridiculed these allegations with considerable force and effect.

“ Was it fit or becoming in the character of a legislator, on a great and important question, to say that his feelings were so much hurt, that he found himself compelled to abandon investigation and argument, that he might not violate his delicacy? What was delicacy? It was but a term to which no definite idea had been found. It was at best but a superadded flower to virtue; an ornament, the absence or the presence of which was alike indifferent to the substance. Delicacy and feeling might be very proper terms to express the sensations arising from the

exertions of an opera singer, but they were an insult to the solemnity and magnitude of parliamentary deliberation."

Mr. Francis at length arose and observed, "That he had attended the debate very much against his inclination, although he could not with any propriety have avoided it. It was incumbent on him to appear, and be ready to give answers to any thing which, in the judgment of the House, might have called for explanation. But he now found, that the objection turned upon no imputation against his character, no suspicion upon his conduct, but merely on a point of honour."

Turning round to the friends of the accused, he then apostrophised them in a manner that extorted even their applause.

"Thirteen years are now elapsed," observed he, "since I first was connected in office with Mr. Hastings; six of them were wasted in India in perpetual contest with him. Seven years ago, I left him there, in possession of absolute power. In all that time, no charges have been produced against me. Surely, Sir, if accusation is ever to come, it is high time it should appear. If now, or at any other period, I should be obliged to change place with Mr. Hastings; if hereafter it should be my lot to be accused, I shall assuredly never object to *his* being my prosecutor; for though by removing a powerful, a well-informed, and in the sense of the present argument, an inveterate accuser, I might provide for my safety, my honour would be lost. Let those gentlemen who are entrusted with the care of Mr. Hastings' honour, look to what they are doing!"

Mr. Francis then entered into a review of his conduct in respect to Mr. Hastings, since his return to England. Seven years before, when he had been almost immediately called on to give evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, "Could he, without treachery to the public, have refused any information in his power? If not, the single question was, in what form did it become him to act? In the character of an evidence only? Would that have been a part to which no enmity, no malice could have been imputed? Would it have

been honourable in him to stand aloof and hide himself, while in fact he supplied the information, furnished the materials, and prompted the prosecution? Was he thought to have acted dishonourably, because he declared himself the responsible accuser of Mr. Hastings, — because he avowed his principles, and hazarded all the consequences of obloquy, retaliation, and revenge, which a public prosecutor must encounter, but which a secret and skulking accuser might easily avoid?

“I had originally advised on this subject with Sir William Draper; my conduct has been more recently approved by General Burgoyne; men who might be supposed no mean judges of a point of honour. But while I lament the consequences of a vote, that shall exclude me from any share in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, I trust that no person will think it possible, that I mean to solicit this House to alter its resolution. I owe every assistance to my friend Mr. Burke, in the task he has undertaken; but exclusively of that consideration, what can I deserve better, than to be absolved without disgrace, from any further concern in this toilsome, invidious, and most unthankful office?”

The friends of Mr. Hastings triumphed on the division, although fairly beaten in the debate; for the *ayes* in favour of Mr. Francis's admission were 62, and the *noes* 122! On this the name of Mr. Frederick Montague was substituted.

It was now supposed — perhaps hoped, by some — that the great talents of Mr. Francis, added to his critical and minute information on all subjects connected with India, would be lost on the part of the prosecution. But it proved otherwise, as will be seen from the following document, which reflects so much honour on the good conduct and abilities of the subject of the present memoir; nor ought it to be omitted here, that the late Lord Minto declared, that after perusing the records of the Company, he had there found inculcated the most wise and steady principles of government, an inflexible integrity, and a firm resistance to all corrupt principles on the part of Mr. Francis.

*Copy of a Letter from the Committee of Managers of the Impeachment, to Philip Francis, Esq. dated Committee Room, House of Commons, Dec. 18, 1787.*

“ SIR,

“ There is nothing in the orders of the house which prevents us from resorting to your assistance; and we should shew very little regard to our honour, to our duty, or to the effectual execution of our trust, if we omitted any means that are left in our power to obtain the most beneficial use of it.

“ An exact local knowledge of the affairs of Bengal is requisite in every step of our proceedings; and it is necessary that our information should come from sources not only competent but unsuspected. We have perused, as our duty has often led us to do, with great attention, the records of the Company, during the time in which you executed the important office committed to you by Parliament; and our good opinion of you has grown in exact proportion to the minuteness and accuracy of our researches. We have found that as far as in you lay, you fully answered the ends of your arduous delegation. An exact obedience to the authority placed over you by the laws of your country, wise and steady principles of government, an inflexible integrity in yourself, and a firm resistance to all corrupt practices in others, crowned by an uniform benevolent attention to the rights, properties, and welfare of the natives (the grand leading object in your appointment) appear eminently throughout those records. Such a conduct, so tried, acknowledged, and recorded, demands our fullest confidence.

“ These, Sir, are the qualities, and this is the conduct on your part, on which we ground our wishes for your assistance. On what we are to ground our right to make any demand upon you, we are more at a loss to suggest. Our sole titles, we are sensible, are to be found in the public exigencies, and in your public spirit. Permit us, Sir, to call for this further service in the name of the people of India, for whom your parental care has been so long distinguished, and in support



of whose cause you have encountered so many difficulties, vexations, and dangers.

“ We have expressed sentiments in which we are unanimous, and which, with pride and pleasure, we attest under all our signatures, entreating you to favour us as frequently as you can, with your assistance in the committee; and you shall have due notice of the days on which your advice and instructions may be more particularly necessary. We have the honour to be,

“ With the most perfect respect, Sir,

“ Your most faithful and obliged humble servants,

“ EDMUND BURKE, Chairman.

Charles James Fox,	Maitland,
R. B. Sheridan,	Dudley Long,
Thomas Pelham,	John Burgoyne,
W. Windham,	Geo. Aug. North,
Gilbert Elliot,	St. Andrew St. John,
Charles Grey,	Richard Fitzpatrick,
William Adam,	Roger Wilbraham,
John Anstruther,	John Courtenay,
M. A. Taylor,	James Erskine.”

As there was neither rule, nor precedent, nor regulation of Parliament, to prevent such auxiliary succour, Mr. Francis instantly attended the committee, and gave his aid and assistance on every occasion. The fate of this prosecution carried on by the ablest men in England is well known. Notwithstanding the sanguine temperament, the wrongs, and the injustice experienced on the part of Mr. Francis, his conduct was firm, indeed, but mild and manly. On the other hand, the proceedings of Mr. Burke were violent, and his language bitter and vituperative in the extreme! The original prosecution was at first, both popular and just; but an impeachment of seven years duration, during which a large portion of the original judges were either removed by death or disability, while many new ones, utterly unacquainted with the proceedings, had been introduced into the House of Lords, seemed to violate

every principle of criminal justice. In addition to all these considerations, there are certain circumstances of a *delicate* nature, connected with the secret history of this country, that concurred in the escape of the Governor-General; and let it also be recollected, that notwithstanding his great and acknowledged abilities, he was never afterwards employed or trusted; or consulted, by that or any subsequent administration. True it is, that towards the conclusion of his life, he was admitted an honorary member of the Privy Council. Yet this must be considered merely as a personal favour, as the votes of the House of Commons for his impeachment, on the score of cruelty, rapacity, and injustice, have never to this day been rescinded.

Meanwhile Mr. Francis continued to act an important part in all the debates of the House. He supported Mr. Fox, who finally triumphed respecting the subject of the Westminster election. He opposed both the facts and conclusions annually stated by Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, on opening the India budget; he deprecated the delusive idea then held out of an excess of revenue, and ridiculed the project of lessening the debts and burdens of Great Britain, by means of the super-abundant wealth of Asia! Such a wild project no longer finds supporters, even now, when our territories and population have obtained such a sudden increase, and we have become the sole preponderant power in Asia.

The conduct of the House of Commons during the war with America, superadded to many gross and unqualified instances of abuse, induced many persons of consideration, both in and out of Parliament, to call aloud for a reform. Mr. Pitt had been one of the first to patronise this measure, which proved the ladder, indeed, that mounted him to power and consequence, and enabled that great orator to display those singular and commanding talents which for a time attracted the applause and attention of his countrymen.

Mr. Francis was not inattentive to this great and important subject. On the contrary, he took the lead, in recommending measures likely to obtain the object in question. It was he

who founded the celebrated society, called "the Friends of the People," and associated Mr. Fox, Mr. Tierney, Lord then Mr. Grey, &c., &c., in his labours. On this subject, he published a pamphlet, and circulated it for the inspection of the friends of that cause, which we may notice hereafter, as an interleaved copy now lies before us. Such proceedings as these could not fail to call for the animadversions of his *quondam friend*, Mr. Burke, who was about this period, rewarded for his zeal, with reversionary and other grants, equal to 35,000*l.* of the public money; while the royal favour designated a peerage in addition to his pension. The following documents, including both the charge and the refutation, ought assuredly to find a place here.

*Copy of a Letter from Philip Francis, Esq.*

*" St. James's Square, Feb. 20, 1797.*

" In the 71st page of a printed letter from Mr. Burke to the Duke of Portland, without a date, I find the following assertions :

" " Some of these gentlemen, who have attacked the House of Commons, lean to a representation of the people by the head; that is, to *individual* representation. *None* of them, that I recollect, except Mr. Fox, directly rejected it. It is remarkable, however, that he only rejected it by simply declaring an opinion: he let all the arguments go against his opinion. *All* the proceedings and arguments of his reforming friends lead to individual representation, and to nothing else. It deserves to be attentively observed, that this individual representation is the *only* plan of their reform which has been explicitly proposed."

" And in page 81, I am named as one of a phalanx, to whom not only these views, proceedings, arguments, and plans of parliamentary reform are imputed, but who had thought proper to treat *him* as a deserter, as if he had sworn to live and die in *our* French principles. I believe I shall sufficiently clear myself from these imputations by declaring as I do:—

“ 1st, That having been a member of the society of the Friends of the People, and having had a share in the conduct of their proceedings, I know not of any act, order, resolution, proposition, motion, or proceeding of any kind, in that society, in favour of individual or universal representation.

“ 2d, That I am morally certain, that, if any motion to that effect had been proposed, it would have been rejected by a very great majority of the whole society.

“ 3d, That, if it had been possible for such a motion to prevail, I would have quitted the society, and opposed their proceedings.

“ 4th, That in fact a very different principle of reform, and incompatible with that imputed to us, viz. by extending the right of voting to all householders paying parochial taxes, and stopping there, was unanimously adopted by the society on the 9th of April, 1794.

“ 5th, That on the 30th May, 1795, the society unanimously approved of a plan formed by me on this principle, and recommended it to the consideration of the public; and that this plan was published in all the newspapers.

“ 6th, That I have, on all occasions, resisted and reprobated to the utmost of my power the idea of individual or universal representation, particularly at a meeting of the society on the 8th of March, 1794, at which I expressly treated it as *a dangerous chimera, set up on purpose to delude the lower classes of the people.*

“ In the House of Commons, on the 23d of January, 1795, the following words make part of my answer to the Attorney-General: —

“ “ With respect to universal representation, and all the dangers and all the reproaches attached to it, I must say, that I think the learned gentleman ought to be careful to distinguish those who profess to have such a scheme in contemplation, and others who reject it with a disapprobation as full and entire, though not perhaps with such extravagant horror as he does. He ought to have known that the idea of universal representation was never encouraged or countenanced

by any act or declaration whatever of our association. If he knows any thing to the contrary, I call upon him now.—I challenge him to point it out. Of *me* in particular, he must have known, and, in candour, he ought to have acknowledged, that it is not possible for any man to go further than I have done, to reject, to resist, and to explōde every project of that nature, and every principle and argument set up to support it; a project, however, so chimerical, and so utterly impracticable, that it is superfluous to load it with charges of danger and malignity. But, let the doctrine I allude to be ever so mischievous, is it in fact, is it in truth, the real object of all the apprehensions and terrors which are said to be excited by it? — I do not believe it; I do not believe that the enemies of reform are so much terrified by it as they pretend to be. They know, as well as I do, that it is nothing but a vision which can never be realised. No, Sir; whatever they may pretend, this is not the true ground of their uneasiness. It is the reasonable, the moderate, the practicable plan which really fills them with terror and anxiety. That, perhaps, might be accomplished; the other never can, nor, if it were even to obtain for a moment, could it possibly subsist; and I am convinced, that, if it were possible to drive those persons to an option, they would prefer the worst to the best; because they would foresee that the mischiefs inevitable in the execution of such a scheme, or even in the attempt, would determine every reasonable man in the country to revert and submit to the present system; that is, to suffer the constitution to languish and dissolve in its corruption, or gradually to perish by decay, rather than to encounter the direct and positive dangers of a change so violent and extreme, to which their minds would naturally unite the certainty of instant destruction.

“ In my speech on the slave trade, on the 11th of April, 1796, there is the following passage:—

“ ‘ In the lowest situations of life the people know as well as we do, that wherever personal industry is encouraged, and property protected, there must be inequalities of possession

and consequently distinction of ranks. Then come the form and the order, by which the substance is at once defined and preserved. Distribution and limitation prevent confusion, and government by orders is the natural result of property protected by freedom. Take care that you adhere to it. Where the few possess all, and the multitude have nothing, there is no government by orders. Every thing is in extremity, and nothing in gradation.'

"Whether these are French principles or not, I neither know nor care. I assert that they are mine.

"PHILIP FRANCIS."

On the great question of war with France, in 1792-3, Mr. Francis joined and acted in unison with his friend, Mr. Fox. He contended with him, as to the injustice and impolicy of their country's interposing in continental disputes, more especially when in opposition to a nation, that wished to throw off its chains, and become free, as England herself had done by the revolution of 1688. Accordingly, when, as a first step towards hostilities, a motion was made for the augmentation of the navy, he explained his opinions in parliament, and did all in his power to impress both the House of Commons and the nation, with the propriety of effecting a change in the administration. He enquired, "whether it was to the fault or the misfortune of ministers, that the present situation of the country was to be attributed? they owed it to their own character, to the House, and to the country, to show, we were not brought into our present perilous crisis, by any fault on their part. At a moment like this, when we were called on to struggle even for our existence as a nation, it was a lamentable consideration, that the whole ability of the country was excluded from the government."

At the dissolution of that parliament, Mr. Francis was unable to obtain a seat. At the general election, in 1796, he stood for Tewkesbury, in conjunction with his friend Mr. Moore, now member of parliament for Coventry, and they jointly endeavoured on this occasion to establish the franchises

of the freemen and freeholders; but their two opponents, who advocated the exclusive rights of the housekeepers, were seated by the returning-officer, who considered this as a *scot and lot* borough. On this they presented a petition; but the decision of a committee was adverse to their claims. In consequence of this event, Mr. Francis remained during a long period of about six years out of parliament. In 1802, however, he again resumed his place in the house. On this occasion he was nominated for Appleby, and sat for that place during several subsequent parliaments, without opposition and without expense.

The affairs of India, as usual, still continued to engage his attention, and occupy his researches. He lost no opportunity to remind the House of Commons and the nation, that our frequent wars in Asia were equally impolitic and unjust, and that even our conquests tended to precipitate our ruin. In 1804, he commenced an elaborate speech with reading the following clause of an act of parliament: "Whereas to pursue the schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation, &c."

"Since this prohibitory act passed in 1784," says he, "I appeal to the House whether we have heard of any thing from India but war and conquest; many victories and great acquisitions, with only now and then a short interval of repose, to take breath and begin again. There is another ground of presumption against the necessity and justice of these wars, which seems to me as strong and conclusive as any presumption can be before the contrary is proved; I mean, Sir, that almost all these wars are supposed to originate in acts of provocation and aggression committed by the weak against the strong."

"The strength of any single Indian state at any time, and now I believe of all of them put together, is not to be compared to the military power and resources of the English."

"I do not say that these nations have no means of defence, or that the Mahrattas, for example, can do us no mischief; but that considering the great disparity of force, it requires

very clear evidence to make it credible, that whereas the disposition of the British power in India is always, if possible, to preserve the peace, and to be satisfied with what we possess, this excellent disposition is never suffered to prevail, because the Indian princes are so restless and unruly, that we cannot, in common justice to ourselves, refrain from invading them. The fable says — the fierce, rebellious lamb would never suffer the mild, gentle, moderate wolf to be quiet : *if it was not you, it was your father.*

“ These propositions *may* be true, but they require some proof; and, when the proof is produced, I shall desire it always to be observed and remembered, that the evidence which comes before us is *ex parte*. We hear little or nothing of what the opposite; and possibly the injured party; have to say for themselves.

“ Ever since I have known any thing of Indian affairs, I have found that the prevailing disease of our government there has been a rage for making war. The strong, though ineffectual remedies which have from time to time been applied to this disorder, are a sufficient proof of its existence. That individuals may find their account in the conduct of such wars, I do not mean to dispute; but I deny that they are or can be for the benefit of the India Company, or the nation, particularly in the present circumstances of the Company's affairs. In these circumstances, and in actual possession of half the peninsula, you engage in a new war with the Mahrattas, the success of which can give you nothing but an addition of territory, which you cannot keep without an intolerable increase of your military establishment, and a perpetual drain of all your resources, of men as well as money, and which you ought not to keep if you could. Whether the Mahrattas have united in defence of their country, or to carry the war into the heart of our best provinces, as they have done in former times, or with what loss or expense our success against them may have been purchased, are questions on which we are utterly in the dark. By public report alone we are informed, that war of great extent at least, and liable to many import-



ant consequences, is now carrying on in India, and that no information of it has been communicated to parliament."

A few days after this (May 3, 1804) he opposed the proposition. "that the thanks of the House be given to the Marquis Wellesley, and to the officers and soldiers concerned in achieving our late successes in India, &c." on the principle, that the terms were so worded, as to include an approbation of the causes of the war.

"The Noble Lord (Castlereagh)," said he, "talks with triumph and exultation of the rapid progress of our arms, and the immense acquisitions of territory we have made in the Guzzerat, and elsewhere. He forgets that the positive law of this country, founded on the best-considered principles of policy and justice, and confirmed by the advice of every man in this country whose authority deserves to be regarded, forbids any further acquisition of territory in India. *Prima facie*, a British governor, who makes war for the acquisition of territory, offends against the law, and is bound to justify himself on the case before he can be acquitted.

"On the whole, Sir, it is my opinion that this motion of thanks to Lord Wellesley ought to be deferred. I have no personal object to obtain, or even a wish to gratify, in the part I have taken on this subject, unless it is to preserve the consistency of my own character, and to adhere to the principles with which I set out in the government of India, and from which I never have departed.

"Thanks given without knowledge or deliberation do no honour to those who give, or to those who receive them. They have no root, and cannot live. Let the evidence come before us. Let the Noble Lord's conduct be examined; and then if it should appear that the war in which India is involved was not voluntary on his part; that it was founded in justice and necessity; I shall be as ready as any man to join in the thanks proposed by this motion. The thanks of the House of Commons, founded on due examination, and including all the considerations that belong to the question, will then proceed with dignity. Their impression will be deep, and their

effect lasting. I therefore think that the motion ought to be postponed."

On the 21st of January, 1805, Mr. Francis moved for an enquiry into the origin of the war with Jesswunt Rao Holcar; and on Friday, April 5th of the same year, he gave the following detail relative to our Asiatic possessions.

"The origin of our connection with India, and the foundation of our establishment there, was commercial. Appearing in the character of merchants, and for many years assuming no other, we were received by the native princes, not only with hospitality and protection, but with extraordinary favour and encouragement; and certainly, as far as the commercial interests of their subjects or their own were concerned, they acted wisely.

"In the natural course of things, it is not possible to open a trade of any kind between India and Europe, without making it a channel of profit and an influx of wealth to India. Comparatively speaking, India, and especially Bengal, sells every thing to foreign nations, and buys very little. In this intercourse with Europe, the native princes saw and understood their immediate advantage. Their commercial eye was open; but their political eye was shut. They saw that the balance of foreign trade was immensely in their favour; but they did not foresee the fatal consequence of granting to foreign merchants a stationary establishment in their country.

"The conduct of another Eastern nation, in similar circumstances, exhibits an example of sounder policy. The Chinese will never suffer us to have a footing in China. On this subject, their own institutions are wise, and they know how we have acted in India. From factories to fortifications; from fortifications to garrisons; from garrisons to armies, and from armies to conquest; the gradations were natural, and the result inevitable. For my present purpose, it is not material to look back to our transactions in India before the year 1765.

"Up to that period, our affairs were in a state of progression, without a solid security, and exposed to many hazards. The grant of the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and

Orixa, obtained by Lord Clive, gave us a powerful establishment, and in effect a sovereignty in India, under the name or shadow of a country government.

“ From foreign merchants we suddenly became a great territorial and political power : from adventurers, who had every thing to win, we became possessors, who had every thing valuable to lose. No wise man continues the game, by which his fortune is once made. Accordingly we changed, or professed to change, our maxims with our situation. The fundamental principle immediately recommended by all the authorities abroad, and acknowledged and adopted by all the powers at home, was limitation of dominion. The same great man, to whom we owe the acquisition, and who laid the foundation of our dominion, bequeathed to us the wisest counsels for preserving it. His words are \*, ‘ My resolution and my hopes will always be to confine our conquest and our possessions to Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. To go further is, in my opinion, a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd that no governor and council in their senses can ever adopt it, unless the whole system of the Company’s interest be first entirely new-modelled.’ On this principle, when the dominions of Suja ul Dowla, when the whole country of Oude was at his disposal, he restored it to that prince. To the same effect, there is another authority, particularly weighty in the scale with any argument of mine, I mean that of Mr. Hastings, whose name assuredly I should never have mentioned, if I had not an opportunity of doing it with approbation, as well as with advantage to my opinion. No words can be stronger than those in which he gives his own. In a letter addressed to the Court of Directors, the President and Council of Fort William say, ‘ The security and tranquillity of these provinces shall be the ultimate end of all our negotiations ; and you may trust, that we are too well aware of the ruinous tendency of all schemes of conquest, ever to adopt them, or ever to depart from the absolute line of self-defence,

\* Sept. 30, 1765.

unless impelled to it by the most obvious necessity, and immediate exigency of the circumstances.

Signed,

‘WARREN HASTINGS AND COUNCIL.’

“These were the principles most solemnly declared and established by the court of directors, in concert with his Majesty’s ministers, at that time, for the future government of India. In their instructions to the governor-general and council appointed by Parliament, their first injunction is *to fix our attention to the preservation of peace throughout India, and to the security of the Company’s possessions.* Their letters are filled with maxims and orders to the same effect.”

On the 10th of March, 1806, when the House was engaged in a discussion relative to the conduct of the Marquis Wellesley, Mr. Francis, after a few words on that subject, in reply to some marked compliments from one of the directors \*, solicited the attention of the House for a few words, in respect to himself, and the rather, as they would probably be the last he should ever address to them on that subject.

“He had passed six years,” he said, “in perpetual misery and contest, in Bengal, at the hazard of his life, for which he appealed to the chairman of the court of directors: then a wretched voyage of ten months, and two and twenty years of labour in the same course, unsupported, and alone.

“By endeavouring through all that portion of his life to maintain right against wrong, he had sacrificed his repose, and forfeited all hopes of reward or personal advantage; but now he had taken his resolutions, and would do so no more. He would never more take an active part, much less a lead, in any discussion of Indian questions.

“When he made a motion, which had been alluded to, last year, it was not to impeach Lord Wellesley, but to arm Lord Cornwallis with the authority of Parliament, and to satisfy the princes of India, that this nobleman acted not merely on his own sentiments, but on the permanent principles of the British

\* Mr. Huddleston.

legislature. That motion was set aside, and he would never renew it.

“With regard to personal proceedings against any man, he was resolved to take no part in them. The impeachment of Mr. Hastings had cured him of that folly. It was *he*, in fact, who had been tried, and Mr. Hastings acquitted.

“He had reason enough to feel a spirit of prejudice, if not of animosity, against Lord Melville, from the perpetual contradiction he had maintained against him; yet in all the proceedings relative to that noble lord, he had never uttered one word; nor would he now concern himself in any prosecution against Lord Wellesley. His spirits were exhausted, and his mind was subdued by a long, unthankful, and most invidious application to one pursuit, in which he had never been able to do any good.

“He was not, nor would be, standing counsel for the nation, or for the Company, on the subject of India. There was one view only, in which he should attend to future proceedings in parliament on Indian questions, because he would not relinquish the duties of his station while he held a seat in parliament; he would watch and take care, if he could, to protect the finances of Britain from being ruined by those of India.

“I have passed,” added he, “almost thirty years in endeavouring to defend the India Company’s property from ruin, and to support their lawful authority; I have laboured to preserve the peace of Asia, and to protect the natives from oppression. The only duty now left me, is to defend England against India.”

In respect to the conduct of Mr. Francis with regard to the affairs of Asia, and still more with reference to the war with France, a considerable difference of opinion may exist; but as to his great and singular merits on another occasion, there can be no one dissentient voice. Mr. Francis was not opulent; he inherited but a very trifling, if any, patrimonial fortune; his acquisitions in India had been considerably reduced by his expenses in England; he had not enriched himself by marriage, nor had he received one shilling of the public money for

many years. With a family to be provided for, he lived like a gentleman, and had to maintain an establishment in St. James's Square, with a country house in the county of Surrey. Such was his precise situation when the new and great question of African slavery engaged the attention of the nation. At this period, when, to a man getting old and infirm, affluence became desirable and indeed almost necessary, Mr. Francis was placed in a most disagreeable dilemma. A relative, possessing considerable plantations in the West Indies, alarmed at the new and urgent claims now made on the score of humanity, held out a temptation, that to other men and other characters, would have proved irresistible. On one hand, he beheld all the allurements of great wealth; on the other, he was to contemplate its privations, both in respect to him and his descendants. He did not hesitate, however, for a single moment, as to the conduct fit for him to pursue, as will be seen from his sentiments, when Mr. Wilberforce brought in a bill "to prevent the further importation of slaves into the British colonies in the West Indies." Here follows the substance of his speech on that occasion, as given in the debates in parliament, commencing with his attack on the premier, on account of the slow progress made by him, in putting an end to the nefarious traffic in human creatures. On this occasion, (April 11, 1796) he made a motion for leave to bring in a bill to meliorate the situation of the slaves in the West Indies. After reminding the House of the pledge that had been given, and the faith that had been violated, he turned round to the Treasury Bench, and spoke as follows:—

"There is one person \* left, Sir, whose support, if I really had it, would undoubtedly be of more use than all the rest; but whose support I disdain to solicit.

"I will not, for any purpose of this world, much less for any interest of my own, descend from the independence of my character, or from the station attached to the duty of this day, to submit myself to a capricious, mean, injurious enmity, not

the less bitter because utterly groundless, not the less persevering because utterly unprovoked.

“Neither is it necessary. I have a surer course to take with the right honourable person I allude to. If I am not grossly mistaken in my opinion of his character, I have a powerful resource in the judicious quality of his calculating mind. I am not alluding now to the general purity of his morals, or to his sincerity in particular. Without disputing his virtues, I hold it to be fortunate that I am not driven to rely on them. I depend upon his support, because I think I can put an honourable force upon his mind. I know the scruples and the prudence with which he weighs and balances the specific value of profit against praise. Whatever you may think of him, he is not a man to be driven, even by a favourite passion, to sacrifice a great portion of reputation for an inconsiderable advantage, and still less for a gratuitous indulgence of temper. I am safe, then, when I say, that my present intention is neither to solicit nor to offend, but to provoke him, (*Hear ! hear !*)—yes, Sir, not to offend, but to provoke. Provocation is not of necessity offence. To inflame is not to irritate. They know nothing of the language who think that these words represent the same idea.

“I tell him frankly that the last decision of the House has left a shade, I will not call it a stain, upon his reputation. Is he not yet satiated with the possession of power and emolument? Is he not weary of the drudgery of office, compared to which the mere labour of a negro is in my mind a service to be endured? And does he think it possible that the country; that any rational being should give credit to a proposition so extravagant and so monstrous, that the all-powerful Minister of the Crown, with all his eloquence, and with all his influence, and with the accession of thirty voices from this side of the house, should not have been able to engage more than seventy votes on a favourite question of his own, if, in earnest and *bonâ fide*, he had desired to carry it? Is there nothing in his mind to elevate him for a moment above the level of his station? Does he never look forward to a time when the

merits of his character will be canvassed by posterity? And is it possible for him to endure the thought of passing for an \* \* \* \*

[Mr. Secretary Dundas here rose to call the honourable gentleman to order. He spoke of his right honourable friend as a member of parliament only; and it was the established rule of the House, to presume that no member ever delivered opinions or expressed sentiments in which he was not in earnest. That to assert or insinuate the contrary was unparliamentary, and a high breach of order.]

Mr. Francis. "I submit to correction, though I really do not think that I said any thing to deserve it. Certainly what I meant was, not to express a suspicion of my own concerning the right honourable gentleman's sincerity, but to indicate to him the impression which the fact, as it stood, seemed likely to make on the general judgment of mankind at present and hereafter. I have no time now to debate a point of order; nor is it necessary. The full idea which I meant to give may be conveyed in another form. Instead of a comment, allow me to tell you a short story from good authority; but whether it be true or not is immaterial; it will serve to illustrate an obscure subject, without the risk of giving offence. A member of this honourable House was asked, how he voted on the last question of abolition? 'Sir, I voted with my friend the minister.' 'How so? I thought you had divided against the bill.' 'Very true; I certainly divided against the bill, but I voted with my friend the minister.'

"At the moment when the secretary of state called me to order, I was going to make an acknowledgment in favour of the right honourable gentleman, and to pay him, what I never refuse even to hostile merit, an honest tribute of applause.

"What judgment I possess is a good deal governed by impression. I cannot calculate the value, while I feel the effect. I have not forgotten that illustrious night\*, when all the powers of his eloquence were summoned to the service, and exerted in the defence of justice and humanity, when he took the House,



at a late hour, exhausted with watching and wearied with debate; when worn-out attention revived at his voice; when he carried conviction to our hearts; when reason in his hand seemed to have no office but to excite the best of passions in our breasts: then, Sir, was the time, if he had nothing to consider but his own glory, — then was the moment for him to have chosen to retire from parliament, perhaps from the world. He had arrived at the pinnacle of parliamentary honour, and at the summit of his fame; and there he should have quitted the scene. From that moment and from that station, in *my* judgment, he has done nothing but descend.”

Mr. Francis then proceeded to state, that the slaves in our colonies were under no law but that of arbitrary will; that they know of no government but that of the whip; that they have no effective protection in laws or in magistrates, against personal cruelty on the part of their owners and overseers; that there is no bond of marriage among them; and finally, that in this state they neither have, nor can have, nor in fact is it intended that they should have, any idea of morals or religion.

He then opened his plan, which was intended to do away those grievances, and proposed:

1. That marriage should be encouraged.
2. That the evidence of negroes in certain cases should be admitted.
3. That the hours of labour should be limited, with a reference to age and sex.
4. That no negro should be removed from the spot to which he has been accustomed, without his consent; and no husband be separated from his wife, or children from their parents, on any pretence whatsoever.
5. That every negro should have the privilege of applying his *peculium*, or the petty profits arising from his own industry, to the recovery of his freedom.
6. That fathers and mothers, who have brought up a certain number of children, should be rewarded with premiums, and the mothers exempted from labour.

7. That there should be a *conservator* of the negroes in every island, with an advocate and attorney to act for them, appointed by the king, dependent solely on the crown, and no way interested in the property and produce of the plantations, for the purpose of receiving complaints, to prosecute, and to punish.

“As it is still permitted,” adds he, “to be the will of parliament, that this infernal trade should continue, let us endeavour to mitigate, if we can, the horrors that belong to it. There ought to be commissioners stationed at the principal places of traffic on the coast of Africa, with salaries sufficient to engage men of character to accept the office, and with legal powers to examine the accommodation in the ships; to superintend and regulate the purchase of negroes; to act as magistrates of the market; to prevent or put a stop to treacherous or fraudulent transactions; to see that iniquity and injustice are at least conducted fairly, on their own pretended principles, and without unnecessary aggravations. Surely the substance of this traffic is enough of itself to satisfy the most savage or brutal mind. Above all things, it should be the care and duty of such commissioners to prevent the separation of families; not to suffer the wife to be divided from her husband, the sister from the brother, the infant from its mother. The sales in the islands should be governed by the same rules. A multitude of other duties and offices, with which the commissioners should be charged, will occur upon reflection.

“That a case should exist, with the consent of an enlightened government, in which such an institution should be wanted, is shameful, is intolerable. I am sure it is an opprobrium to the name of England. In the treatment of the negroes in our islands, of all its evils the most grievous and afflicting remains to be considered. As long as it exists, I know that general institutions, laws, and magistrates, will avail but little in their defence.

“The arbitrary power of the whip, committed to men without feeling, to be exercised in anger, and unchecked even by the interest of an owner in the well-being of the object, is not

in its nature capable of regulation, or subject to controul. To limit the number of stripes, to interpose between the naked helpless wretch — a pregnant woman perhaps — and the uplifted hand of the driver, would be an unjust invasion of necessary authority, and possibly in its consequences might hazard the crop. For a mischief of this kind there is no partial remedy.

“In the place of a despotic power of punishment, entrusted to a single person, I would substitute a form of trial, not less effectual to insure the reasonable demand on labour, and equally safe to the only interests which the planters seem to think of. I would give jurisdiction to the negroes in every plantation over one another. The whole gang of male adults should constitute the pannel, out of which a kind of jury should be formed by lot, or by selection; with a right of challenge, on one side to the offender; and on the other to the master, or to his representative, who should superintend and regulate the proceedings, and mitigate or remit the sentence if he thought proper.

“Gentlemen who are fond of justice may apprehend, perhaps, that a black tribunal would rarely, if ever, inflict sufficient punishment on a negro. I, for my part, am confident, that as soon as they understood their office, and were sensible of the trust reposed in them, they would rather lean to severity, and that the overseer would often find himself obliged to restrain it. On this principle, the discipline of our armies in India is effectually maintained. An honourable gentleman near me can give you better information on this subject. But I know enough of it to be able to assure you, that no sepoy can be punished but by the sentence of a court-martial composed of native officers, who have all been taken from the ranks, and with an European officer to act as judge-advocate; and that I never heard the justice of their proceedings disputed. As long as they are tolerably well treated, they are attached to their officers, and will follow them as far as the best British troops.”

At length, wearied out, and indeed exhausted, by a fruitless opposition, Mr. Francis determined to relinquish his seat in parliament. This was accordingly consented to; and if we are not greatly misinformed, effected in a manner exceedingly honourable to himself, and a great political friend with whom he had been long connected; for he was complimented with the nomination of his successor.

On the accession of Mr. Fox to power, some thoughts were entertained of sending Mr. Francis to India as Governor-General; and he once observed to the writer of this article, "That he wished to have concluded his career in that remote part of the globe, where he received his first disgrace!"

As this appointment never took place, something seemed due to such a man; and accordingly, at the recommendation of Lord Grenville, he was invested with the *insignia* of the Bath, October 29, 1806. Sir Philip now possessed ample leisure, and he accordingly occupied his time in literary pursuits. On June 22, 1817, he very unexpectedly appeared at a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, and moved a petition to the House of Commons against the act for the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, of which here follows a copy, as we have every reason to believe, drawn up by, or at least corrected with his own hand:

" GENTLEMEN,

" I never had a turn or a relish for long speeches, and now the little habit I had of speaking in public is lost by disuse. Besides my natural aversion to prolixity, the time and the occasion call for energy and resolution much more than for debate. It is to be regretted that this county, which, including the wealth and population of the capital, is at the head of the country, has not had an opportunity of meeting sooner, and taking the lead on the business of this day, and giving the earliest example to the rest of the three United Kingdoms, of the course that ought to be pursued in this great emergency. Still, I hope, your proceedings will not appear too late to be

useful. Wherever your sentiments can be known, I am sure they will make a general and deep impression. This is not a question of precedence. It is, and ought to be, a subject of emulation; not who shall go first, or who shall go second, but how we shall all unite with the greatest vigour and effect in the common cause of the community. The case concerns every man in the kingdom, from the highest in station to the lowest in misery, from the first county to the poorest village, from the palace to the cottage. Once renew the power which has been given and still exists, then ask yourselves what security has the first or the last man in the kingdom, that he shall be able to escape from its grasp? I know of none, unless you think that exorbitant power may safely be trusted, because you are sure it will never be abused. Even so, remember that 'the mildness with which absolute masters exercise their dominion, leaves them masters still.' Of myself I shall only say, what it is fair to presume of any man in the same circumstances, that, at *my* time of life, and afflicted as I am with bodily infirmities, I should not come forward now to take an active part in any of the common transactions of a world, in which I must very soon cease to have a personal concern, unless I were in earnest. It is not for ostentation that I make this claim to your confidence; or to court a little transitory applause. These vanities are gone by. I know their full value and esteem them accordingly, as you will do if you live to *my* age. In disclaiming all interest, I mean to prove my sincerity, as far as the heart of man can be judged of on rational presumptions, or human actions accounted for by natural motives.

"Gentlemen, Neither the country nor the government can stand long in their present position. You cannot stop where you are. We are falling still. We must either recover the station we have lost, or sink deeper every day until we reach the lowest gulf of degradation, from which there is no return. We have already lost our original right to the *habeas corpus*. To-morrow the trial by jury may be suspended. The next step will be the abolition of both, as it is said of kings that the interval is short between their imprisonment and their

graves. Why should not the trial by jury be suspended? If it be true, as ministers affirm, 'that a traitorous conspiracy has been formed to overthrow the government, laws, and constitution of this kingdom,' and if juries will not find such supposed traitors guilty, then I say that ministers are bound by their principles, if they are sincere, or by their professions at least, if they are not so, to take some shorter course to save the state. They would be traitors themselves, if they did not resort to it. They have necessity to plead, which, if it be real, is irresistible. They are bound to take care that the government shall not perish in their hands. If I am driven to a choice, and no other option left me, I am not at all sure that I ought not to prefer an abolition of the trial by jury to that of the *habeas corpus*: because I know that in fact juries have been and may be corrupted or overawed. Otherwise, how was it possible that a verdict of Guilty could have been returned against Lord Russell? But juries will not always answer the spur, and the best governments may be compelled to have recourse to a high commission court, and to revive the Star Chamber. In process of time, even those formalities will be found too slow or too troublesome for the rapid patriotism and ardent zeal of cabinet ministers to save their country. Then come the use and real purpose of a standing army of foreigners, in the heart of the country. I call them foreigners, though at present most of them may be natives. What is it to us, where they were born; in England, or Scotland, or Ireland; in France or in Germany? If they draw their swords against the freedom of their birth-place, to the destruction of every thing that ought to be dear even to themselves, they are foreigners to us, and enemies to the well-being of their country. His most Faithful Majesty, the King of Portugal and Algarve, and His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, at the head of the edicts, say *Jo el Rey*. The most Christian King says, *Car tel est notre plaisir*. There are still two topics, on which it is indispensable that I should detain you for a few minutes. The first is the propriety, and indeed the advantage of adhering strictly, *this*

day, to the object for which you are regularly convened by the authority of the sheriffs of the county, who preside here. You will find it quite enough to animate all your zeal, and to occupy all your attention. In the true spirit and language of the field, for I suppose there may be many sportsmen present, I say that, by starting other hares, you spoil your own sport, you mar the chase, and lose the attainable object immediately in view. The second is still more important. Observe what I say, not how I say it. Something worse than a military government awaits us, and shows itself already. An armed force, having taken what it wants, commonly suffers the enslaved nation to enjoy the little remnant that is left, or at least to exist in quiet. Not so when a feeble government shall resort for its support to the ministry of spies and informers, who penetrate into your house, who win your confidence by professing to adopt your opinions, who worm themselves into your family, who watch your unguarded words, who delude or corrupt your servants, who invent when they have nothing to discover, or excite that they may have something to betray. No sooner was the Roman commonwealth converted into an empire, but men, such as these, I mean the *delatores* \*, became the favourite instruments of government, under those devils, whom they called emperors. Your house is no retreat, the utmost prudence gives you no security. You well know who I mean;—by whom they are employed, and by whom they must be paid. I will not mention their names: among Christian men, they are not fit to be named. I say they *must* be rewarded; aye and liberally too; that is, in proportion to the odious character of their service. I did not see the thirty pieces of silver paid by the high-priest to Judas, but I believe it. It is not yet in human nature, let it be corrupted how it may, let it be ever so degraded and depraved, to undertake a service so

\* Nec minus præmia delatorum invisa quam scelera: cum alii *sacerdotia* et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procuraciones alii et interiorum potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti: et, quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi.

TACITUS Hist. 1. 2.

ignominious and so hazardous without an expectation, without an agreement or stipulation perfectly understood between the contracting parties. Now, gentlemen, though it be not very likely, it is far from impossible that one or more of the beings I allude to, may have found their way unobserved into this assembly. A villain is not easily distinguished or discovered by his countenance; for his face may be a mask. If such a man be among us, I exhort and invite him to come forward to declare his mission and to avow his purpose. I challenge him to watch every word I utter, and to write it down at this table, where I will solicit the sheriffs to grant him all the accommodation that can be had in so crowded a place. As far as may depend on my utmost efforts, he shall then be at liberty to depart unmolested, under the safe conduct of contempt, and to carry with him the proofs of his services and merits to those who employ him. The petition, which I am now going to read to you, is in effect an argued case. We have no time to lose, and this on the whole has been thought the plainest and shortest course. Whether well or ill argued will be for *you* to determine. One thing alone I venture to assert, that there is not in this paper a single principle maintained, which the true constitution of England does not warrant, which our laws do not avow; no sentiment which a British heart ought not to feel; no word, which the voice of England ought not to pronounce. If, in any instance, the contrary should appear, it must be *my* fault, and *I* alone ought to answer for it."

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When Sir Philip Francis read that part of the petition which refers to the solitary confinement of persons imprisoned without a charge assigned, he made the following remark: — "In this particular place, I would gladly have solicited the attendance, and should have rejoiced at the presence of some of those Right Reverend persons, who are said to exalt their mitred fronts in courts and parliaments, in gorgeous palaces, and in the presence of kings. I speak of the dignitaries of the Church of England, *as by law esta-*



*blished*; — for ours is happily a religion of law as well as Gospel. Were it otherwise, I cannot help fearing that the Gospel, ere long, would be left to provide for itself. Those reverend persons, I am sure, would support the principle I contend for, and bow with submission to the authority which I shall appeal to. When St. Paul was accused by the Jews, before a Roman governor, of every crime which they could invent or imagine, and especially of sedition, that despotic tribunal, with all its power, appears to have been governed by a natural sense of justice. Festus said, “It seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him.” Felix ordered him to be kept in custody for trial; but how? “He commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or to come unto him.”

A petition, on the motion of Sir Philip Francis, was then read, and agreed to unanimously.

About the same time, he was invited to an entertainment in the city given by the liverymen of London to Mr. Alderman Wood, just elected, for the second time, Lord Mayor. On Sir Philip's health being *toasted* from the chair, in which the Duke of Sussex presided, he rose and spoke as follows:—

“Sir, and Gentlemen,

“I am first to thank you for the honour you have done me, and still more for the cordiality, with which it was expressed and received. Between the cup and the lip there may possibly be design; but no Englishman is a hypocrite in his cups. You will not therefore suspect me of insincerity in saying that I devoutly hope that no gentleman here will have injured his health by drinking mine. Though little equal now to any public function, I was earnestly desirous of the honour of attending His Royal Highness on this occasion. I wished for an opportunity, which in all probability will never recur to me, of expressing to this honest man (*turning to the Lord Mayor, who sat next to him*), the respect I feel for his character, and my tribute of applause to his conduct. I give him the title, which I revere most, and which kings can no more bestow

than they can, or would if they could, the virtue that deserves it. The state of the country wants such men and such magistrates. They deserve to be honoured, and they ought to be supported. The well being of the nation is included in the justice done to those who defend it. Throughout his last mayoralty, he has acted for the public service, not only with zeal and fortitude, but with consummate judgment; and in the face of difficulties, which it would be superfluous to state to this assembly. To you, gentlemen of the Livery, I am bound, as a member of the community, by the obligation of gratitude for continuing the office of Lord Mayor of London in his faithful hands; an office important at all times, but, in the present exigency, beyond all common calculation essential to the safety of the kingdom. I cannot believe it possible, that the example you have given to every rank and office in society, in calling as you have done, on personal virtue to take her public station, will not have made a general and deep impression; and that it will not be imitated by every independent corporation in the kingdom. The case demands an universal effort in following the impulse of your principles, in the direction you have given it; not merely in the selection of mayors and magistrates, but in the free choice of a real representation of the nation in the House of Commons.

“It is to be seriously regretted that this meeting has not been attended by many more individuals of the higher orders in the community. Of some, I am sure that they have been prevented by accident or distance, as my noble friend Lord Holland is by a severe indisposition. *Their* interest, even as interest is commonly understood, is more in question than that of others; because, in proportion to their superior possessions, they have a greater stake to hazard, and more to lose, than we have in the ruin of their country. I wish that a more general animation could be perceived among them. Their own immediate danger ought naturally to rouse them from such lethargy. A dormant nobility, a sleeping gentry in the country, a drowsy race of rank and fortune men, who walk in their sleep, or who shut their eyes to their situation, and dare not look at the crisis that approaches and threatens them; these

are the persons who are most in view, and will be the first victims to their supineness. Remember the Roman \* story, which we have all read at school, that the *tall poppies* were the first cut down by the tyrant, whom they were mad enough to intrust with the command of a standing army.

“ Now, Gentlemen, I shall conclude with a sentiment, which I stated and urged to another meeting two days ago at Fish-monger’s Hall, where it was received with approbation, and where I had the pleasure of partaking of many miraculous draughts besides the fishes. We live in times that call for wisdom in contemplation and virtue in action; but in which virtue and wisdom will not do without *resolution*.”

Soon after this, Sir Philip Francis experienced a long and severe illness. His maladies produced a considerable state of irritation, which affected him exceedingly, and gave a certain degree of impetuosity both to his conduct and character. At length, worn out by infirmities, which age only tended to aggravate, the latter part of his life was spent in pain and in misery, which, however, he suffered with a considerable degree of fortitude. Sir Philip expired at his house in St. James’s Square, on the 22d of December, 1818, leaving behind him a son, Philip Francis, esquire, bred to the bar, and two daughters, Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Cholmondeley, all of whom were by his first wife. At a late period of his life, indeed, after he had become a septuagenarian, he married a second time. The maiden name of this lady was Miss Watkins, the daughter of a clergyman.

In person, Sir Philip Francis was tall, thin, and elegant, even in old age. His features were regular, his voice sonorous, his eye piercing, his look discriminative. In youth, and even at an advanced period of life, he was active in no common degree. In respect to spirits, and a certain happy flow of conversation, he was proverbially felicitous; and he himself was accustomed frequently to observe, “ that the sword wore out the scabbard.”

\* Livy, i. 54. *Tarquinius summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse.* Sir Philip Francis was educated at St. Paul’s School in the heart of the city of London.

There is something singular, and even great, in the character of this gentleman. His conduct was so pure, that neither Mr. Hastings nor any of his enemies ever charged him with corruption. Had he chosen to succumb to the governor-general, the treasures of the East were at his feet; and, like many others, he might have returned to his native country with an immense fortune. His conduct in respect to the original contest with France, was at least disinterested; his opposition to the government of his rival in India was noble and intrepid; his hostility to the slavery of the Africans, coupled as it was with expectant ruin, transcends all vulgar praise! But his talents were overlooked, his virtues undervalued and forgotten: his rewards, accordingly, were not commensurate with his merits. A barren title, and a blazing star, were all the honours obtained for a long life devoted to his country, and consecrated to her best interests! With an heroic fortitude, single and unsupported, he opposed Mr. Hastings, when death had bereft him of his associates, with an unshaken constancy to vindicate the honour of the English name in the East, — to rescue the unhappy natives from oppression, — to preserve princes and begums from European rapacity, and render our government in Asia beneficial both to the conquerors and the vanquished.

As an orator, Sir Philip, in point of fact and information, stood pre-eminent, not only on all subjects connected with India \*, but also in regard to such as respected the laws and constitution of Great Britain. He was neither so copious, so ready, nor so fluent in debate, as many inferior men of his day; this may be partly attributed, however, to the late period of life at which he came into parliament.

As a man of letters, he was allowed by Mr. Burke, assuredly no incompetent judge, — to have excelled in one species of com-

\* “I cannot avoid paying that tribute of applause,” observes Mr. Fox, “to the industry, perseverance, and clear-sighted policy, of my honourable friend (Mr. Francis), on questions relative to India, which they so much deserve. In my opinion, there is no one subject of His Majesty, or person in all his dominions, whose merit, in regard to the affairs of India, could be put in competition with my honourable friend.”

position ; for he acknowledged him to have been "the best pamphlet writer of his age." We shall not presume to decide as to his being the author of the "Letters of Junius," but certain it is that these productions have been assigned to him, with a greater degree of verisimilitude than has yet attached to any other of the numerous candidates set up by their respective admirers.

As a statesman, his plans were turned towards the permanent security and prosperity of our Asiatic settlements ; but as peace and economy are not calculated to dazzle the multitude, and war and conquest alone held out temptations for cupidity, his humble but just views were never sufficiently appreciated. In his ideas of a reform in England, he wished to steer a middle course ; he accordingly advocated the purity of election, but was a stern enemy and steady opposer to universal suffrage, and all those violent and impolitic counsels, which are calculated to render melioration hopeless.

In conversation, he was often pithy and sententious. One of his maxims was, "That the views of every one should be directed towards a solid, however moderate, independence, without which no man can be happy or even honest." When the property-tax was imposed, he exclaimed, "that the ministers were now coming to the life-blood of the country, and the more they wanted the less they would get !"

Towards the conclusion of his life, like most others of the same standing, he became somewhat suspicious as to the *motives* of mankind, particularly politicians : like the philosopher of Wimbledon, he considered "confidence to be a plant of slow growth."

Few men of the present age have been more familiarly connected with the British press than Sir Philip Francis, or possessed more skill either in writing or in circulating his productions. Even after he had passed the age generally allotted to man, he still continued his usual habits, and published sometimes one, and sometimes two or three pamphlets within the year. — If he did not possess the *copia verborum* as an orator, he yet must be allowed to have exhibited the *ars narrandi* as a

man of letters. Elegance, perspicuity, and simplicity, were characteristic of his style and manner; and he enjoyed the happy art of being able to communicate his own impressions to others, without circumlocution and without difficulty. Whatever appeared intricate, he could explain; whatever was difficult, he rendered facile. He possessed strong passions, and consequently strong feelings: this, perhaps, contributed to his excellence. He was always of opinion, that with a callous heart there can be no genius, — no imagination, — no mind, — no wisdom. “Resolute thoughts,” observed he, “find words for themselves, and make their own vehicle. Impression and expression are relative ideas. He who feels deeply, will express strongly: the language of slight sensations is naturally feeble and superficial.”

Of his works, a large portion naturally and necessarily appertain to the affairs of India. His speeches in the House of Commons are numerous, and have been all carefully revised by himself. Indeed, he appears to have commenced his career as a parliamentary reporter; and whoever will take the trouble to turn to Wright’s Parliamentary History, will there find many of Lord Chatham’s best orations edited with a degree of spirit, ability, and eloquence, that is seldom to be met with in the present day.

In his plan of reform, intended to be proposed to the “friends of the people,” he contends, “That to have stated an enormous public grievance without proposing a remedy, would only tend to alarm and agitate the minds of the people, as well as to disturb the peace of society. The House of Commons,” observes he, “ought to be the constitutional instrument or weapon of the people. With an honest and vigorous House of Commons, really representing and acting for the country, the removal or correction of oppressive or expensive institutions, the repeal of bad laws, and the mild but steady administration of good ones, would follow of course, — with the reduction of all extravagant expenditure, the exorbitant grants of the public money, and useless establishments, — and with a real economy in the collection and appropriation of the

taxes raised on the people. Such a parliament would, above all things, never suffer the nation to be involved in the calamities of war for any purpose but defence ; in providing the means we shall secure the end. The restoration of the rights of *free election*, is a preliminary indispensable to every other reformation. The constitution, thus restored to genuine health, would soon recover its real and genuine beauty. What image does it exhibit now but the false, fictitious charm of prostitution, ruined by treachery, wasted in riot, and perishing in the profligate embraces of seduction !” Notwithstanding this, our author praises the act (8th of Henry VI.) which restricted the votes at county elections to forty-shilling freeholders, and prevented all *freemen*, as heretofore, from being convened to choose a knight of the shire. “We approve,” observes he, “of suspending the right of voting in persons of no substance ; but, far from confining it to one species of qualification (lands or tenements), we shall contend for its extension to every kind of property, where the amount, combined with other circumstances, is sufficient to afford a reasonable security that the right will be properly exercised. In a word,” continues he, “whoever observes the course of the English history, and the progress of the constitution, will find that *liberty* and *property* have invariably gone hand in hand, and protected each other ; and while the lands were engrossed by the church and the nobility, the clergy and barons did, in fact, constitute the parliament ; but that as fast as entails were unfettered, as industry and trade were encouraged, and as the means of acquiring property were laid open, the liberties, the rights, the privileges, and the power of the commons expanded along with them.” It is also maintained in this work, that every member shall possess an adequate qualification, and that a fictitious or borrowed one ought to vacate his seat. One great object only is here attempted, and that is, “To take the choice of the House of Commons out of the hands of a few privileged persons, and replace it in the hands of the many to whom it belongs by common right.”

Sir Philip thinks that "wages" as heretofore, ought to be paid to the members; and this new expense, at forty shillings a day, would not exceed 100,000*l.* for a single session. It is also proposed that all the elections should commence on the same day and hour, and that the day should be Sunday, immediately after divine service. As to the franchise itself, the plan here stated is to confine it to all freeholders paying parish taxes, except peers, so that the kingdom being divided into districts, every 2400 houses should return a member.

This work was republished, with a new introduction, in 1817, in which the venerable author once more maintains, "that the possession of competent property ought to be a *sine qua non* to a right of disposing of the property of others." He at the same time deprecates the ideas of a former Duke of Richmond, respecting universal suffrage, and also the ballot, the latter, in the language of Cicero, "affording a skulking shelter for corrupt transactions, over which the sense of shame can have no check."

Of his letters, a species of composition in which Sir Philip greatly excelled, that to Earl Grey, published in 1814, passed rapidly through two editions. "Though my interest in the miserable transactions of the world," observes our venerable author, "abates every day, and must soon be at an end, I will not now or with my latest breath, consent to resign my share in the censorial controul which the public voice has or might have over the measures of government. The pacific check of opinion against power, is a jurisdiction inherent in the community, not to be wantonly or factiously applied, but never to be relinquished in silence, or lost by disuse; because, as far as it operates, the necessity of maintaining right against wrong, in a more resolute form of opposition, is, in the same degree, exercised and preserved." He next animadverts on his political junction with Lord, then Mr. Grey, in 1798: "when we drank pure wine together; when *you* were young and *I* was not superannuated; when we left the cold infusions of prudence to fine ladies and gentle politicians; when true wisdom was not degraded by the



name of moderation; when we cared but little by what majorities the nation was betrayed, or how many felons were acquitted by their peers; and when we were not afraid of being intoxicated by the elevation of a spirit too highly rectified." After alluding to the dangers of an immense standing army, barracks in every part of the country, the Bill of Rights suspended, and in effect a military government, he turns to the intended cession of Norway to Sweden, which is termed "a flagitious project," and then, in his usual excursive strain, proceeds as follows:—

"I will never look again to the right or to the left for political virtue. When I find it in individuals, they shall have all the honour that I can contribute to give them, *si quid mea carmina possunt*. Nor shall the names of some other politicians be sheltered from infamy by sneaking out of life and skulking into oblivion. Their true character and merits are already on record, and shall be kept in preservation, like reptiles in spirits, for the wonder of posterity. *Rectum est index sui et obliqui!* They who cross the right line, or deviate from it, must have arguments on their side equal to mathematical demonstration. But, as Sheridan said one day — *heu quantum!* 'it is not possible; you might as well expect a serpent to take the direction of an arrow.' That speech alone would have made him immortal, if, as he ought to have done, he had died at the end of it, *de curru descendens Teutonico*."

After this digression, he states, that in the year 1810, the then reigning hereditary King of Sweden was dethroned and banished. "In truth," adds he, "it was an act of absolute indispensable necessity, and ought to have been done much sooner. It saved Sweden from utter destruction, which his madness and vanity would soon have accomplished." He then treats of Bernadotte, both in respect to character and conduct, with a considerable degree of freedom, and loudly condemns our blockade of Norway, in order to subjugate the nation to the Swedes, as cruel, base, and unmanly. He also blames those who advised the Prince Regent to address the Crown Prince (now King) and give him the title of "Sir, my

brother," subscribing himself, "your good brother, cousin, and friend."

"In former times," adds he, "when I had the honour to be known to the Prince Regent, and when, I think, he had no doubt of my attachment to him, I am sure he would never have spoken to me again, if it had been possible for me to have proposed it to the Prince of Wales, to unite himself on any terms with such a person as Bernadotte."

"His Royal Highness's kindness to me has been for some years interrupted; but I have yet no positive reason to believe, that it is totally effaced. If he should not take in good part, this last unquestionable proof of my unabated disposition to serve him, the loss, if any, will be his own. To myself, there is nothing left to hope or to fear, from the events of this world. Where favour is not expected, fortune has no power."

A letter missive from Sir Philip Francis, K. B. to Lord Holland, dated 10th June, 1816, as usual, contains much miscellaneous matter, and commences with many sincere testimonies of respect to the noble baron, to whom he addresses himself.

"After some severe warnings to quit this tenement of clay, and with sundry good reasons to be as willing to change my state as a virgin turned of forty, there is but one thing left," observes he, "to reconcile me to a removal. For my own credit, and for nothing else, I should like to leave a memorial to those who are to follow me in my own line, and to their children, legitimate or natural, as it may happen, that, since I had an opportunity of observing others and knowing you, a voluntary attachment grew with my knowledge of you. This affection was not planted or trained, but came of itself, and has thriven of its own accord. But when, with a sight sharpened by experience, I examined your principles and conduct as a public person, though possibly subject to deviations which have escaped me, impression changed into conviction, and is now the final act of my understanding. Some men have passions in their heads and no where else; mine are in my heart, and from that source all the ebbing intellect I pretend to, is derived.

“ It is not quite an act of vulgar ignorance or superstition to deify the virtues, by which the faculties of eminent men have been instructed as well as animated, to inform and enlighten mankind. You see I am giving you the pedigree of your abilities. As to myself, I am old enough to be my own ancestor. My actions can disgrace nobody except a select committee of the House of Commons, who signed the record of my conduct in India, with the names of Burke, of Fox, and of Grey at the head of it. We all wish to live somewhat longer than our lives, more or less according to the measure of our merits or pretensions. My name can be of no service to you, but yours will sustain it. That argument, though I have many others, would be enough to make me adhere to you. The feeble parasite clings to the supporting power, and when it drops off, leaves the noble stem uninjured. I feel and know too well, that my disposing mind is in disorder as well as decay, and least of all equal to the regular rules of method and connexion. You are too good a Spaniard, however to dislike an *olla*, or not to relish some of its ingredients. Take the following *items* by themselves, and not as if they led or belonged to one another. On the whole, though you are not a party to the bargain, I entreat you to make the best of it, as you would do of the last testimony of an old friend, who has left his affairs in confusion, and appointed you to be his executor.

After observing, “ that whether you look up to the top or down to the bottom, whether you mount with the froth or sink with the sediment, no rank can in this country support a perfectly degraded name ;” Sir Philip turns towards Ireland, and laments the unhappy condition of five sixths of the population. “ You believe in the real presence,” observes the Church of England ; “ we believe only in dogmas, which we all understand, since they fall within the range of common sense and the compass of right reason. *Ergo*, you are not fit to be trusted by *us* in the higher offices of society, though we trust you in many others, which require as full a confidence in your good faith and fidelity to the established government;

as those from which you are excluded. You acknowledge the spiritual jurisdiction of a foreign tribunal over questions of faith only, or in cases exclusively subject to that conscience which the Deity has not given to his creatures for nothing ; therefore you cannot be loyal subjects to the king, to whom you are bound by all the oaths and all the moral obligations, which are held sacred in your own religion, and in every religion that exists on earth, and which we are very well contented to profess ?

“ I will not submit,” adds he, “ to hold a trembling balance between the extremes of suffering right and triumphant wrong ; to blink the true question, or to spare the aggressors. — These are the pretences of hypocrisy, not the motives or result of honest conviction — the principles of devils pursuing their prey with whips of scorpions, and fighting and destroying still, under the pretended banners of religion. At sight of such audacious profligacy, with such means to enforce it, the human heart, if there be a human feeling in it, recoils with abhorrence. If the happiness, or even the repose of Ireland were your object, the road to it, as you well know, is open and direct, with or without what you call *Emancipation*. By that very term, which will not give way, if you understand your own language, you have made a voluntary engagement, a strict union with five or six millions of slaves, and you refuse to set them free.”

He advises government to pay a moderate salary to the Catholic clergy of Ireland, who are nothing less than mere beggars ; he also recommends an abolition or abatement “ of Catholic tithes to pay a Protestant establishment, for no service in return, adverse to their faith, to their prejudices, to their religious madness if you will. Have you deliberated, have you resolved to murder those tenants of hogsties, which you call cabins, &c. ? If the principle, but too often acted upon by barbarous injustice, of forcing the same tenant of a few acres of bog and potatoes to maintain two church establishments could be endured on any terms, the mode of exaction would excite terror, in England at least, or anywhere but in Ireland.”

Our venerable author next tells us that time has not yet made him garrulous, whatever it may do hereafter. "My recital concerning myself shall be inflicted on you, as if it were an operation with compassion for the patient, with the brevity of impatience, and the rapidity of youth; for I feel or fancy that I am gradually growing young again, in my way back to infancy. The taper that burns in the socket, flashes more than once before it dies. I would not long outlive myself if I could help it, like some of my old friends, who pretend to be alive, when, to my certain knowledge, they have been dead these seven years."

The next subject brought under review, is a great orator of our own times. "In my long intimacy with Edmund Burke, to me a great and venerable name, it could not escape me, nor did he wish to conceal it, that Cicero was the model on which he laboured to form his own character, in eloquence, in policy, in ethics, and philosophy. With this view, he acted on a principle of general imitation only; and, in my opinion, infinitely surpassed the original. Yet in the year 1790, when the French revolution had taken effect, the first thing he did was to discard one of the wisest political maxims to be found in his archetype, and by him at least, to be revered as the instruction of a master: "*Peregrini officium est minimè in alienâ esse republicâ curiosum.*" As long as the French were content, and desirous, as they were assuredly at that period, to settle their own future constitution among themselves, and within the limits of their own territory, we had neither right nor interest to meddle with their proceedings, much less to coerce them.

"Under various pretences abroad, it was determined in the closet that there should be a war, nominally of kings against a republic, but really of military despots against the freedom of Europe. So we have had the war, with all its consequences; *ex illa fonte*. But the weather-beaten vessel has weathered the storm, kept afloat by the pump, and driving under jury-masts. Existence on terms, on which, in other times, the nation could have refused to exist, is said to be tri-

umph. We have military fame to show for the loss or surrender of real honour, of general happiness, of personal liberty, and general independence."

He compares our "thousand millions of debt" to an imposthume; he talks of the whole "metallic currency" of the united kingdom being annihilated, or carried out of it, and "finally, a deluge of paper, immoderately inflaming the nominal price of every thing saleable. At last came peace," adds he, "armed at all points, and issuing like Pallas, without her wisdom, from an empty skull, with all and singular the furniture and properties of war, pride, pomp, and circumstance," except one, a singular omission of an indispensable ingredient: — *without a foreign enemy!*"

Whatever may be the difference on this subject, all must agree in opinion when he paints the flight of Buonaparte, leaving the French army to despair, and Egypt to its fate. "Whether I viewed him in the base subversion of the liberty of France; in the treachery of a consul, who degrades and crushes a commonwealth entrusted to his care, into a furious military despotism for himself; or under the infernal visage of war, with *Até* by his side, laying Europe waste in carnage and desolation from the Seine to the Volga, for the pitiful rage of being talked of, which he thought was ambition — what was he, even to eyes that admired him most, but a glaring meteor, driven by some mad projectile power, crossing the system of Europe in every direction, destroying or disturbing the constituted spheres within its vortex, and on all the rest shaking pestilence and war? What could he be in *my* mind but a frantic idiot, wielding a force irresistible with the desperate animation of a *dæmon*, or a compound out of both!" The following characters of two great statesmen, are drawn with a masterly hand.

"They know nothing of Mr. Fox who think that he was what is commonly called *well educated*. I know it was directly or very nearly the reverse. His mind educated itself, not by early study or instruction, but by active listening and rapid apprehension. He said so in the House of Commons

when he and Mr. Burke parted. His powerful understanding grew like a forest oak, not by cultivation but by neglect.

“Mr. Pitt was a plant of an inferior order, though marvellous in its kind: a smooth bark, with the deciduous pomp and decoration of a rich foliage, and blossoms and flowers which drop off of themselves, leaving the tree naked at last, to be judged of by its fruits. *He*, indeed, as I suspect, had been educated more than enough, until there was nothing natural or spontaneous left in him. He was too polished and accurate in the minor embellishments of his art, to be a great artist in any thing. He could have painted the boat, and the fish, and the broken nets, but not the two fishermen.

“*Unques exprimet & molles imitabitur ære capillos.* On one occasion only he was sublime; but never in my hearing pathetic. He knew his audience, and with or without eloquence, how to summon their generous passions to his applause.

“The human eye soon grows weary of an unbounded plain, and sooner, I believe, than of any limited portion of space, whatever its dimensions may be. There is a calm delight, a *dolcé riposo*, in viewing the smooth-shaven verdure of a bowling-green as long as it is near. You must learn from repetition that those properties are inseparable from the idea of a flat surface, and that flat and tiresome are synonymous. The works of Nature, which command admiration at once, and never lose it, are compounded of grand inequalities.”

Historical Questions, exhibited in the Morning Chronicle, in January, 1818.

These questions, since republished in the form of a pamphlet, are chiefly directed against “legitimacy;” and may be considered as the last work from the author’s pen. In reply to “Who was the father of James I.?” the answer is certainly or apparently not Henry Darnley, “as all the conclusion to be derived from circumstances which cannot lie, lead directly and powerfully to David Rizzio. It is hardly to be believed,” adds he, “that even the savages of those barbarous times (1567) would have murdered that man in the presence

of the queen, *enceinte* as she was, had they suspected him of nothing but being a favourite fiddler or ballad-singer."

The *Masque de fer*, in the second historical question, is said to be the eldest son of Anne of Austria, with whom her husband did not cohabit for twenty years, and, consequently, the brother of Louis XIV., who was produced long after. In the third, Henrietta-Maria, widow of Charles I., is termed "a canting Carmelite," who, with all her affliction for the loss of her martyred spouse, supplied his place as soon as she could by the Earl of St. Alban's, "by whom she was directed and governed in all things." The Chancellor, Lord Clarendon, is accused as the original projector of the fate of Dunkirk; and his sincerity is much questioned, as to his outcries against his daughter for marrying the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

In the fourth historical question, David Hume is severely handled. In the fifth, great doubts are expressed as to the legitimacy of Louis XV. The sixth contains some delicate remarks relative to Mademoiselle Tremouille, afterwards consort of George I.

Some curious particulars relative to the Ex-king of Sweden are noticed in the seventh; and it is asked at the same time if legitimacy be the only or main title to succession, on what principle was Bernadotte constituted one of the legal sovereigns of Europe?" The author of the Gowrie conspiracy is the subject of the next enquiry; in the succeeding one Charles I., in the case of Felton, is said to have had the *animus tortor*, sufficient to qualify him for a grand inquisitor of Toledo, and would have gladly introduced the rack and all its attendants into England, if he could.

"It is well known, that Thomas Wentworth, (afterwards Earl of Strafford,) before he basely sold himself, and his name and all his descendants to Charles, was deemed and called by the court a fierce and furious democrat. Now does any one who bears the name of Wentworth, wish to have it proved, that he is legitimately descended from that felon? On delicate ques-



tions, tastes may differ. For my part, I would rather be known for the spurious issue of a highwayman, *ditch-delivered of a drab.*" The tenth historical question commences by an account of two celebrated women in the court of George I. "one of these was created Duchess of Kendal, and the other Countess of Darlington, to reward their merits in their respective departments, and to encourage the surrender of prudery, in younger and handsomer subjects." The former of these ladies is said to have received eleven thousand guineas from Bolingbroke, for the recovery of his estate; and the profits of Wood's patent "for deluging Ireland with bad halfpence," appertained also to Her Grace, who obtained several thousand pounds by way of indemnification when it was recalled.

The twelfth and last, respects the widow of Henry V., who married a Welch gentleman, called Owen Tudor, "with empty pockets, a personal appearance that indicated a powerful constitution, and as proud as Cadwallader with all his supporters. For taking this liberty with the king's widow, he was afterwards hanged. Out of this Owen and his French wife came a son, and out of him came Henry VII. By what right, title, or pretence of inheritance, legitimate succession, or even consanguinity, he held and transmitted the crown of England to his successors, is still a question to be settled by every man for himself, not by evidence, for there is none in his favour; but by conjecture, by argument, by party prejudice, or mere inclination."

Sir Philip Francis possessed a highly cultivated taste, and exhibited a strong relish for the fine arts. For the Italian painters and their works, he entertained no ordinary esteem: every thing appertaining to the great masters was deemed sacred in his eyes. We never recollect to have seen him in such a rage, as on hearing of the hard fate of the Cartoons; when he learned that they had been cut and shortened, in order to fit the pannels of a palace, he declared with indignation, "that the person who had advised such a sacrilege deserved to be crucified!"

He rejoiced greatly, that the Elgin marbles had been bought by government and were intended to be kept here.

While treating on this subject, he observed as follows : " Now I confess that my temper is so impatient, and my judgment so infirm, that I could not endure to listen to a money debate, whether England shall keep and preserve the sublime remains of Phidias, and of all the wonderful artists of his time, as if it were about a tax upon lobsters, or the toll of a turnpike." He also entered into a learned dissertation, to prove that there were admirable statues in Athens, as well as temples, before the erection of the Parthenon.

In private life, Sir Philip was extremely pleasant, agreeable and gallant with the fair sex ; gay with the young, he was at the same time sententious and didactic with the old. As he advanced in years, he became anxious, above all things, to avoid *garrulity*, the usual concomitant of age, and indeed was himself too impatient to listen to the tedious details, and long and tiresome stories of others.

Extremely accomplished, he was greatly addicted to music, he was also familiar with the two modern languages in greatest repute in our times, which he quoted frequently and appositely, Italian and French. In respect to the learned tongues, he was highly gifted, for his Greek and his Latin did honour to St. Paul's School, where he was educated.

The writer of this article, was honoured with a last visit from Sir Philip Francis, on the 23d of December, 1817. His frame was then evidently shattered, and disease had begun to prey on his vitals ; but at times, he rallied, and seemed to forget that he was on the very brink of the grave. The original malady, for which he had submitted to an operation, proceeded from the *prostate gland*, and to this cause he attributed the constant irritation, and occasional pains, with which he was tormented.

The conversation was miscellaneous, and proved highly interesting, for care was taken that he should both lead and select the subjects. Of these Junius, that fertile theme for investigation, occupied a distinguished rank. He ridiculed the idea of his being the author ; — he had already written on that subject until he was tired, — would write no more

letters, — answer no more questions relative to it. “If mankind are so obstinate as not to believe what I have already said, I am not fool enough to humble myself any more with denials, — I have done.”

We next talked of the news of the day; he was astonished at the times in which he lived. Hone had displayed great talents in his defence, — had beaten both judge and counsel — three different trials for three different counts of the same libel, — this was intolerable. There was a general diffusion of knowledge, — every body wrote, and wrote well now-a-days; — he had read Wooler’s productions; — Cobbet was able, but hurt his cause by his violence. —

Great events produced great men, as well as energetic and singular characters. Mr. Fox was a truly great man, — a master-spirit; — he possessed uncommon powers of debate, but attributed too much effect to this talent, and, in the end, was miserably deceived and disappointed. Mr. Burke also, was a truly great man, — the opposition refreshed themselves with his conversation, as if it had been a fountain of living water whence they drew their supplies; — he was a poor creature in parliament, unless agitated by some great object; yet he was always in earnest, or soon became so, — the noble animal knew his defect, “and lashed his sides with his tail, until he animated himself into a passion, — he was then glorious.” The extremity of personal distress made him go over to the enemy, and he carried two great whig noblemen, bound hand and foot into their camp, although they were not in want, like himself; — his great crime was the abuse of the party he had left, and, above all, his conduct to Mr. Fox: — notwithstanding this, he (Sir Philip) had always preserved his private friendship, although he differed entirely in respect to public affairs. — His regard for Mr. Fox’s character remained unaltered and unalterable, notwithstanding some mortifying circumstances; — he had sat near twenty years in parliament, and spent 16,000*l.* in the cause, from which he had never flinched. — He had, indeed, been most heartily invited to join the seceders, yet he had stuck to Charles Fox, who was pledged

to him. But his friend was a different man in and out of office. — “He (Sir Philip) had wished to go to India, perhaps to die there, — but assuredly to make a rally for reputation in that country where he had first shone, and first fallen; — the name of a noble baron was used as if he had been adverse to him. — Mr. Fox patronised a Scotch lord, whom the East India Company would not patronise.”

Sir Philip Francis then spoke of a late meeting of the county of Middlesex, — his last public act was performed there. Recurring to his own personal situation, he lamented his indisposition, chiefly as it prevented him from sitting in ladies’ company, and dining with his good friend Lord Holland, a man whom he loved exceedingly.

At a subsequent period, Sir Philip told the writer of this article, during a visit in St. James’s Square, “that if any one had dropt 30,000*l.* into the pocket of Mr. Burke, there would not have been any war with France.”

The last time he saw him was at Tunbridge Wells, during the summer of 1818; but although able to walk a little on the pantiles, he was then in ruins. He afterwards visited Brighton, returned to his residence in Westminster, and soon after expired.

Such was the character, conduct, and opinions of the late Sir Philip Francis, as they appeared to the writer of this memoir. After expending a considerable portion of his life in India, and his fortune in parliament, and living and acting, during many years, with the greatest orators and statesmen of England, his remuneration must be allowed to have been wholly incommensurate with his virtues, his talents, and his sacrifices. Indeed, to adopt the language of one of the most eloquent men of his day, he may be truly said to have “lived and died, with no other reward, but that inward sunshine of the soul, which a good conscience can always bestow.”

*List of the Works and Speeches  
Of Sir Philip Francis, K. B. M. P., &c. &c.*

1. Original Minutes of the Governor-General and council of Fort William, on the settlement and collection of the Revenues of Bengal, with a plan of settlement, recommended to the Court of Directors in January, 1776. 4to. 1782.

2. Speech in the House of Commons, Friday, July 2, 1784, on India affairs. 8vo. 1784.

3. Two Speeches in the House of Commons, on the original East India Bill, and on the amended bill, on the 16th and 26th of July, 1784. 8vo.

4. Speech in the House of Commons, Tuesday, March 7, 1786, on moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend the India Act of 1784. 8vo.

5. Observations on Mr. Hastings' Narrative of his Transactions at Benares, in 1781. 8vo. 1786.

6. Observations on Mr. Hastings' Letter relative to Presents. 8vo.

7. Observations on Mr. Hastings' defence. 8vo.

8. Speech in the House of Commons, April 19, 1787, for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings on the Revenue Charge. With an Appendix. 8vo. 1787.

9. Answer of Philip Francis, Esq. to the charge against Sir John Clavering, Colonel George Monson, and Mr. Francis at the bar of the House of Commons, on February 4, 1788, by Sir Elijah Impey. 8vo. 1788.

10. Speeches in the House of Commons, 28th February, and 2d of March, 1791, printed in Proceedings in Parliament relative to the origin and progress of the war in India, &c., 1792. 8vo.

11. Letter to Lord North, late Earl of Guilford, with an Appendix, dated Calcutta, September 17, 1777, 8vo. 1793.

12. Heads of a Speech in reply to Mr. Dundas, April 23d, 1793, on the government and trade of India.

13. Draught of a resolution and plan, drawn up in 1793, and intended to be proposed to the Society of the Friends of the People, 1794. 8vo.

14. Speech in answer to Silvester Douglas, now Lord Glenbervie, 1796.

15. Proceedings in the House of Commons on the Slave Trade, &c. 1796.

16. The question as it stood in March, 1798. 1798. 8vo.

17. Speech on the affairs of India, July 19, 1803.

18. Speeches in the House of Commons, on the war against the Mahrattas. 1805. 8vo.

19. Speech against the exemption of foreign property in the funds from the income tax, 1806. 8vo.

20. Letter to Viscount Howick, (now Earl Grey), on the state of the East India Company, 1807.

21. Reflections on the abundance of paper in circulation. 1810.

22. Letter to Earl Grey. 8vo. 1814.

23. Letter missive to Lord Holland. 1816.

24. Plan of a reform in the election of the House of Commons, adopted by the Society of the Friends of the People, in 1795; with a new introduction, and other documents. 8vo.

25. Petition of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, to the Honourable House of Commons; preceded by the Speech with which it was introduced, by Sir Philip Francis, K.B. 1817. 8vo.

26. Historical Questions, exhibited in the Morning Chronicle, in January, 1818, enlarged, corrected, and improved. 1818. 8vo.

## No. X.

## JOHN SCOTT WARING, Esq.

FORMERLY A FIELD-OFFICER IN THE SERVICE OF THE HONOURABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, AND LATELY A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

THE name of this gentleman has been scarcely mentioned of late years, and indeed he has taken but little share in any political proceedings of a recent date. There was a time, however, when he acted a very conspicuous part, and was continually before the public, either as a writer or a parliamentary orator.

John Scott was born in or about the year 1737, or 1738. He is said to have been descended from a respectable Scottish family of the same name: and towards the latter part of his life he assumed the addendum of Waring, in consequence of one of his relatives having settled a considerable estate on him, in the county palatine of Chester.

At an early period of life, Mr. Scott entered into the service of the East India Company, and rose by degrees to the rank of a major. While a subaltern, quartered at Futtygur, he displayed a taste for writing, and, as we have heard, at one period attacked the administration of Mr. Hastings with a considerable degree of ability and effect. But they were afterwards reconciled, and a friendship equally warm and sincere took place between them. The governor-general, being certain that an impeachment had been determined on, selected Major Scott, who possessed his full confidence, as his agent and he accordingly repaired to England, as his precursor. They were both sensible that nothing could be effected without a seat in parliament; and the proper means for obtaining this were not wanting. The subject of this memoir accordingly

appeared in the House of Commons, as the authorised representative of Mr. Hastings, and displayed no common degree of zeal in his behalf; nor can it be denied, that on many trying occasions, he conducted himself with considerable ability and effect. On the other hand, he must be acknowledged to have displayed a certain degree of temerity, in the manner in which he commenced his career. It is well known, indeed, that in the character of champion to the governor-general, he was the first to throw down the gauntlet in the House of Commons, to set his enemies at defiance, and to dare them to the contest. How far this might have been prudent it is now difficult to decide; but certain it is, that he appears at least to have confirmed Mr. Burke in his original purpose, and perhaps rendered him still more determined, and even more personal and vituperative, than he otherwise might have been.

In this state of affairs the subject of this memoir, of course, was particularly anxious to have the public voice in his favour. Many of the first families in the kingdom were indebted to Mr. Hastings for a provision for their younger sons. The East India Company (supposing the accusation of his enemies to be true), had profited by his speculations, his rapacities, his wars of ambition, and still more by his wanton aggressions against the defenceless natives, under the immediate protection of Great Britain. Some of the ministers themselves were under obligations to him; and, in addition to all this, by means of presents he had gratified the cupidity, and excited the gratitude, of many distinguished personages. Thus, a numerous and powerful body was already interested in the defence of Mr. Hastings; while the public at large, listening to the tales of rapacity and injustice displayed towards the most distinguished princes and princesses in India, without regard either to rank, or age, or sex, at first leaned towards his accusers.

In this state of affairs, it became necessary to conciliate those who were neutral, to confirm those who were wavering, to countenance his defenders, and to attack his foes.



All this was effected in a very able and efficacious manner, by the avowed agent of Mr. Hastings. Well aware of the immense power of the press (and it was never more fully demonstrated than in the course of this very impeachment), he subsidised several of the newspapers: some of the reviews, too, were at his devotion. Pamphlets innumerable were also written and circulated, either by himself or under his immediate direction; and thus the public mind was monthly, daily, and almost hourly occupied either by his own labours, or those of his adherents. When the contest became warmer, the speeches of each side were published, and perused with an eagerness now scarcely to be conceived; and while the periodical press incessantly groaned under the innumerable letters, paragraphs, puffs, and squibs, which issued from it. This must have proved an expensive operation; and a very curious bill of the sums paid on this occasion was published in the *Morning Herald*, in 1787. Of the total expenditure, it is now difficult to form any guess, but it could not have been much short of one-fourth of the law expenses, which alone amounted to 71,080*l.* on the part of Mr. Hastings. Indeed, the avowed productions on the part of Major Scott himself, relative to India, amount to upwards of thirty in point of number, some of which are of considerable extent. Many of these, indeed, were published with his name, and some with his initials (J. S.), while others appeared under the signature of Asiaticus, Detector, &c. &c. &c. In addition to this, he rose frequently in the House of Commons in support of his patron; he mingled in all the debates relative to the affairs of Asia; and it was admitted by Mr. Pitt that his information was various, original, and authentic.

While Major Scott contended with a host of periodical writers, he was anxious that history should not record any thing unworthy of his friend. Accordingly, in 1791, he addressed a letter to Mr. Doddesley, for the purpose of controverting some of the facts stated in the *Annual Register* for 1788. Perhaps his zeal was considerably heightened by the consideration that Mr. Burke had been, and still was supposed

to be the editor of that work. In 1796, he also addressed a letter to Mr. Belsham, who, in his history of the reign of George III. had treated Mr. Hastings, as he thought, with a considerable degree of asperity and injustice, particularly in the character drawn of a great Asiatic Statesman.\* He had

\* The following is the portrait of the Ex-Governor-General of India, as depicted by the pencil of Mr. Belsham, vol. vii. p. 225. of the History of Great Britain: "The political character of Mr. Hastings, on a cool and impartial review of his conduct, so forcibly impresses itself on the mind, that it can derive little aid from any adventitious illustration. Daring in the conception, and ardent in the prosecution of his designs, — fertile in resources, and relying with confidence, and even with pride, on the strength of his own genius, — his character acquired a certain stamp of dignity and superiority from the inflexibility of his temper, and the apparent force of his own conviction respecting the rectitude and propriety of his measures; to which must be added, that in his public despatches he possessed the dangerous art of giving plausibility to the most absurd and pernicious measures, by artful and imposing glosses, branching out sometimes into studied ambiguities, sometimes into bold assumptions, under a perpetual external show of ingenuousness, liberality, and candour.

"The numerous individuals returning in rapid succession from India, whom Mr. Hastings had engaged in his interest by various obligations, contributed also to enhance his reputation, by the high eulogiums which they almost universally bestowed upon his conduct; and in which, dazzled by the brilliant exterior of the Governor's administration, and unequal to the clear comprehension of an extensive and complex system, they were probably for the most part very sincere. The truth, however, is, that this man, for thirteen years the scourge of the East, and whom ignorance and folly have preposterously ranked with the SULLYS and CHATHAMS of the West, has never been, and never can become, the theme of discerning and rational panegyric.

"Not to speak of his total and flagrant disregard of the sole legitimate end and object of government, — the happiness of the governed, — his conduct will be found, in almost all its parts, and in the choice and prosecution of his own purposes, absurd, perplexed, capricious, and inconsistent. His course was one perpetual deviation from the straight and luminous path of political and sound rectitude; and his general reputation was supported chiefly by his habitual vigour of mind and personal courage, which were in him internally blended, and seemed to rise on some occasions even to the semblance of magnanimity.

"His exertions in the last war for the preservation of the Carnatic, which he had so wantonly and uselessly endangered, were generally and justly spoken of as highly meritorious; but even in this most splendid and boasted part of his political conduct, he could challenge only the praise of a madman, who first fires the house, and then labours strenuously to extinguish the flames.

"The administration of Mr. Hastings has been truly said, in the glowing expressions of eloquence, 'to exhibit a medley of meanness and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppression, of the most callous cruelty contrasted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith. The sordid system of commercial policy, to which all the arrangements and regulations of the Company are ultimately to be traced, was under his government carried to the utmost extent. Thus have nations been extirpated for a sum of money, — whole tracts of country laid waste to furnish an investment, — princes expelled for the balance of an account, — and a bloody sceptre wielded in one hand, in order to replenish the empty purse of mercantile mendicancy displayed in the other.'

pronounced, "That his defence, precipitately and prematurely delivered, was of no service to his cause, and contributed in a very slight and inadequate degree to the vindication of his character." While he reprobated the "languor" with which the trial was carried on, the writer lamented, "that the enthusiasm of those who wished and expected to have seen a great delinquent brought to speedy and exemplary justice, was fast changing to compassion for the man who seemed destined to live a life of impeachment, and to have been the object of a relentless persecution." If the Major was annoyed by the charges of delinquency, he was still more mortified at the affected compassion for the "criminal;" and he was consequently at great pains, on the present occasion, to enforce the innocence of his patron, and insists on the guilt of his numerous and relentless enemies.

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"The concessions of Mr. Hastings himself are, indeed, occasionally very large and ample; for his views seldom seem to have extended beyond the precise object which he wished at the moment to compass. The ruinous effects of British perfidy, and British barbarity, in India, are very strongly and distinctly stated in his letters, dispatches, and minutes of council. In his minute of September 29, 1783, he says, "By a sacred and undeviating observance of every principle of public faith, the British dominion might by this time have acquired the means of its extension, through a virtual submission to its authority, to every region of Hindostan and Decan. — But the powers of India ALL dread the connection. The subjection of Bengal, the usurpations in the Carnatic, the licentious violation of the treaty with the Nizam, the effects of our connections with the Vizier, stand as TERRIBLE PRECEDENTS against us."

"Yet as to himself, the *primum mobile* of the whole system, he declares in his famous minutes of defence, 'That he had the conscious satisfaction to see all his measures terminate in their designed objects; that his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, justice, and good faith; and that he resigned his charge in a state of established peace and security, with all the sources of its abundance unimpaired, and even improved.'

"To reconcile these apparent incongruities, we are required, therefore, by a species of faith which can work miracles, to believe that there existed in India crimes without a criminal, oppressions without an oppressor, and tyranny without a tyrant. In fine, when we consider, with serious attention, the origin and progress of the British government in India, the friendship and generosity with which the English nation was received, and permitted to form establishments in that country, the black and base ingratitude with which those obligations were requited, and the unexampled, unprovoked, and unatoned excesses, which have been perpetrated on the princes and inhabitants of Hindostan — Is it the weakness of superstition merely to tremble at the secret apprehension that some mighty vengeance is yet in store for this kingdom, such as finally, by the intervention of obvious causes, overwhelmed and subverted the proud, corrupt, and tyrannic empires of antiquity?"

Yet what was above prognosticated actually took place. The numerous delays and continual procrastination of the proceedings against Mr. Hastings, at length aroused a spirit of indignation both in the House of Commons and the nation, against the tardy method of conducting the prosecution. Accordingly, Major Scott was heard with patience and temper, when, in opposition to Mr. Francis, he insisted on the then prosperous condition of Bengal, arising out of the government of Mr. Hastings, while that gentleman was placed over it.

“The increased and accruing revenue had been obtained,” he observed, “from sources branded on the journals of the House, as procured by acts of injustice, oppression, and breach of faith, viz.

	£.
“ Benares increased rent      -      -      -      -	170,000
“ Salt      -      -      -      -	600,000
“ Opium      -      -      -      -	140,000
“ Oude      -      -      -      -	200,000
<hr/>	
Total -	<u>£ 1,110,000</u>

“I affirm,” added he, “that if such an increase of wealth has flowed into the coffers of the Company, during the right honourable gentleman’s administration (Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, and then President of the Board of Controul), it proceeds from the source I have enumerated; it has all been created by Mr. Hastings, and all condemned by the journals of the House, in the strongest possible language; and yet this country takes, without scruple, all those wages of iniquity, as it has been pleased in effect to term them; and the minister glories in the great amount of his Bengal resources, and in the flourishing state of the country! Such absurdities and injustice cannot last for ever. Gentlemen must know, that I neither misrepresent nor exaggerate.

“There was a time, when a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) was pleased to compliment me in very flattering terms, for the uncommon accuracy with which I have given

India details in this house. The same honourable gentleman was pleased, a short time since, to speak of them with a marked contempt. But I have never varied in my accounts, and it is extremely singular, that the India minister and myself scarcely differ as to a single fact.

“I thank the House for the indulgence with which they now hear me; and cannot omit the present opportunity of once more calling its attention to the situation in which it and the country now stands, approving year after year the resolutions moved by the India minister — taking credit for every rupee arising from the revenues of Bengal — agreeing that that country has been and still was, in the most flourishing state — yet going year after year into Westminster Hall (and we are now in the sixth year of the impeachment!) when the world is solemnly told, in the name of the Commons of England, that Bengal is ruined and undone — enjoying the resources, yet abusing the man and the means by which they were procured! Fully convinced, as I am, that this House is composed of men of sense, and of honour, I am confident that the time must arrive, when they will be ashamed of such disgraceful transactions!”

Major Scott, on the fifteenth day of the trial, was examined by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, &c. before the House of Lords, on the second charge, relative to the very dark and dubious transactions about the treasure of the Begums. On this occasion he asserted, that Mr. Hastings' defence had been chiefly drawn up, not by himself, but by his friends; and that Messrs. Halhed, Gilpin, Middleton, and himself, had all assisted on that occasion.

On the 1st of May, 1789, the subject of this memoir entered into a laboured defence of Mr. Hastings' conduct again before the House of Commons, and maintained that the petition presented to the House of Lords by that gentleman, was founded on facts, and unanswerable in point of argument. “As to the affair of Nundcomar, all the transactions had been laid before government, and yet the governor-general was repeatedly confirmed in his high office, subsequently to

that period. After such appointments, what could be the opinion of Mr. Hastings or of the world," added he, "but that the charge ought to be looked upon as a base and unfounded calumny? yet this was the mass of evidence which the manager (Mr. Burke) had been talking of for two days, and which he was so anxious to produce. The manager, after the decision of the House, thought proper to affirm that Mr. Hastings murdered Nundcomar by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey." Not content with this, he published the two following letters, in a newspaper of that day, in reply to one addressed by Mr. Burke to his friend Mr. Montague:

#### LETTER I.

*"To the Printer.*

"SIR,

"Mr. Burke's motive for publishing the letter which Mr. Montague read in the House of Commons, ought to be, to enable those gentlemen who differ with him to enter into a fair discussion of its contents.

"Some of the assertions of the letter are of so very extraordinary a nature, that I should have been sorry indeed, if so fair an opportunity had not been given to me of meeting them with a most direct and unequivocal contradiction. Mr. Burke says, that the House having, upon an opinion of his diligence and fidelity, put a great trust into his hands, *ought to give him an entire credit for the veracity of every fact that he affirms or denies.* Never was there, I believe, so monstrous a proposition, *and the vote of the House has proved already the fallacy and the absurdity of it.* If it were true, observe what a dilemma Mr. Burke would involve the House in. We have had two India budgets since this impeachment began. In each year the India Minister has dwelt with peculiar force and emphasis upon the mildness, the justice, and the excellency of the government of Great Britain in Bengal; has explained the situation of its foreign connections and dependencies, and has last year taken credit, as the aggregate of the resources of Bengal, for a surplus, after the payment of all its expenses, of

two millions sterling. The House has heard these statements with great satisfaction, and has voted those resolutions which Mr. Dundas moved. Could the House have done so, had they believed Mr. Burke? No; for, in contradiction to every man's declaration who has any means of information, Mr. Burke obstinately persists in painting to the world, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, the miserable, distressed, depopulated, and ruined state of Bengal, Benares, and Oude. I affirm, therefore, that the House has not, cannot, and ought not to give entire credit to Mr. Burke, for the veracity of every fact that he affirms or denies.

“ In another paragraph he says, that the committee must be the sole judges of the relevancy of the facts, till the competent court finally decides; and he adds, ‘ In that court the agent of Mr. Hastings will soon enough be called upon to give his own testimony with regard to the conduct of his principal. The agent shall not escape from the necessity of delivering it, nor will the principal escape from the testimony of his agent.’

“ In this passage *I know* Mr. Burke is not serious, nor will the world believe him, because every man of common sense knows, that there is a common-sense way of doing business, and that *if I could* give the testimony which Mr. Burke insinuates *I can give*, Mr. Fox, the managers, the five lawyers they employ, would insist upon Mr. Burke's coming to the point *at once*, they would not permit him to speak four days upon presumptions, and the *probabilities of presumptions*; but, as Mr. Burke has now committed himself, I hope the public will not *forget* the broad assertion that he has made. For the present, I will inform them, that I was examined upon this subject in Westminster-hall above four hours, with all the ability, ingenuity, and industry of Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Sheridan; and this is not the only instance they have given of skill in putting questions, as the world well knows. I had been examined upon the same subject by a Committee of the House of Commons five years before. When I was called as a witness in Westminster-hall, no in-

formation was given to me of the point I was called to depose to; and, in the course of my examination, Mr. Sheridan observed, that there was a contradiction between my evidence then given, and that which I gave formerly on the same subject. A Noble Lord afforded me an opportunity of calling for that former evidence. It came; it was read; but the ability of Mr. Sheridan did not enable him to point out a difference, and, armed with the robe of magistracy, he left his assertion to shift for itself. No question can be put to me that I will not answer most unreservedly; and as to money transactions, I should have no objection if all that I am concerned in were proclaimed at Charing-Cross. I have never lent my name to give currency to a bond, and afterwards refused to discharge it.

“Mr. Burke says, that their perseverance may be called obstinacy inspired by malice, and adds, ‘Not one of us, however, has a cause of malice. What knowledge have we of Sir Elijah Impey, with whom you know we began; and of Mr. Hastings, whom we afterwards found in our way?—’ Party views cannot be our motive. Is it not notorious, that, if we thought it consistent with our duty, we might at least have an equal share of the Indian interest, which now is almost to a man against us?’

“One would really imagine that Mr. Burke was writing to an old woman born in the last century, or to an infant in the nurse’s arms. That he should gravely put such a question to a gentleman of character and information, and deep political knowledge, is, indeed, most wonderful. Does not Mr. Montague know, that those who have been his bosom friends through life, took up the cause of Mr. Hastings most warmly and successfully in the year 1776, when Lord North wanted to remove him, *because he had been accused?* Does not Mr. Montague know, that the Marquis of Rockingham then defended him, *because the accusation was not proved?* Does not Mr. Montague know, that the accusations were actually those which, at the distance of fourteen years, Mr. Burke has revived, though three several times since they



were made, Mr. Hastings has, by the unanimous voice of the legislature, been appointed the governor-general of Bengal? Does not Mr. Montague know, that in 1781, when he sat as a member of the Judicature Committee, they examined very particularly into the circumstances of the execution of Nund-comar? Does not Mr. Montague know, that precisely at the same period Lord North brought in a bill, by which Mr. Hastings was a *fourth* time appointed governor-general of Bengal, and for ten years? Does not Mr. Montague know, that neither Mr. Burke, nor any one man of his committee, intreated Lord North to suspend the appointment because Mr. Hastings was concerned in the death of Nundcomar? He knows that at that time no such suspicions existed, nor do they now, though it was found *expedient* to say *that* which the Commons have disavowed.

“But, says Mr. Burke, *we found Mr. Hastings in our way*. He never spoke more truly in his life.

“They did so, *but not in April 1781. They found him in their way* when they had turned out Lord North the next year; then, and not till then, did the plot thicken; nor was Mr. Hastings the *only* man *they found in their way*. They found Mr. John Macpherson *in their way*; and they made a report which had for its object *his removal*, and a censure of Lord North for appointing him. They found Mr. Whiter *in their way*; for they made *another* report, in which they affirmed, that both he and Sir John were *implicated* in the criminality of Mr. Hastings. The resistance of the proprietors, and the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, prevented their plans from taking effect. They resigned, and in a few months came in with additional power, by an unexpected junction with an old enemy. Then Mr. Fox brought in his memorable bill, and again *they found Mr. Hastings in their way*, for his friends joined most heartily in opposition to that measure, with a very great majority of the nation. I cannot possibly look into the heart of a man, and discover the motives of his actions; but, I believe, there is not in Great Britain one man of common sense, or who has read beyond the history of Tom Thumb,

who will say with Mr. Burke, that party views cannot be the object of their prosecution of Mr. Hastings.

“Mr. Burke says, ‘Is it not notorious, that if we thought it consistent with our duty, we might have at least an equal share of the Indian interest, which now is almost to a man against us?’

“There is an insinuation here, which it is incumbent upon Mr. Montague to do away. I deny the truth of it in the most solemn and unequivocal manner. None of us have forgot the late important struggles, nor the active part which Mr. Burke took in them. During that period, or any other, never was the least overture made, directly or indirectly, on the part of Mr. Hastings, by any man living, to deprecate the resentment of Mr. Burke, or his party. I affirm there was not, and at the very moment when their possession of power appeared (whether with or without cause I know not) to be inevitable, I spoke of them precisely in the manner that I had done, when their elevation appeared to be more distant. If no reply is given, the insinuation will be treated by the world as it deserves.

“I will take upon me to declare, that no overtures were at any time made by Mr. Hastings or his friends to deprecate the violence of his opponents, though an overture was made to them. At a very critical period, namely, the night before Mr. Fox brought in his bill, Mr. Sheridan, who made it, would have met me the next day, had I not declined it. How far he was empowered, or by whom empowered to treat, I know not; but after having declined that meeting, which was intended as an opening to an accommodation, I did not expect to hear it gravely asserted at any time, as a matter of notoriety, that Mr. Burke and his friends ‘might, if they thought it consistent with their duty, at least have an equal share of the Indian interest.’ Mr. Burke’s meaning is too obvious to be missed, but it has no sort of foundation in fact.

“I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

“*Holles-street, May 9.*

“JOHN SCOTT.”

## LETTER II.

"To the Printer.

"SIR,

"I am obliged to you for inserting my letter so early in your paper, and as I must look upon the publication of Mr. Burke's letter, to be a fair appeal from him to the public, I shall submit some further remarks to the candour and good sense of the same tribunal.

In his late speech, he gave us a long account of Munny Begum, whom he called "a Dancing Girl, a common prostitute, a wicked woman," and bestowed upon her a variety of opprobrious epithets, in so far that three-tenths of the ladies who heard him must have departed with the most unfavourable opinion of this venerable matron. If the House were to give Mr. Burke entire credit for the veracity of every fact that he either affirms or denies, it would upon this occasion be in one of the most unfortunate dilemmas that any public body was ever involved in; for Mr. Burke *himself*, in the eleventh report of the select committee, gave the House the following *very different* account of Munny Begum in the year 1783; 'It will be proper to state to the House the situation and circumstances of the women principally concerned, who were in the seraglio of Jaffier Ally Cawn at his death. *The first of these* was called Munny Begum, a person originally born of poor and obscure parents, who delivered her over to the conductress of a company of dancing girls, in which profession, being called to exhibit at a festival where the late Nabob took a liking to her, after some cohabitation, she obtained such influence over him, *that he took her for one of his wives (and she seems to have been the favourite), put her at the head of his haram*, and having a son by her, *this son succeeded to his authority and estate*; Munny Begum, the mother, *being by his will a devisee of considerable sums of money*, and other effects, in which he left a charge, which has since been applied to the service of the East India Company.'

“ All the latter part of this account we know to be strictly true; and the first may be so also, although it will be impossible for Mr. Burke, or any other person in England, to prove it. Munny Begum, by Mr. Burke’s own account, was the wife, and the favourite wife, of Jaffier, the superior of his seraglio; and Lord Clive took a legacy of five lacks upon the strength of her testimony, which forms a fund for the half-pay of our army. If she ever was a dancing girl, it must have been nearly fifty years ago; for the last twenty-seven years she has been treated as the first woman in Bengal. How she acquired her power and influence originally, long antecedent as it was to our own influence in Bengal, is not a matter of the least consequence; but I should be glad to know, if the House is to give entire credit to Mr. Burke for the veracity of every fact he affirms or denies, how they are to act, *when he differs so materially from himself?* In the eleventh report, and in the articles presented to the Lords, this lady is called *the widow of Meer Jaffier*. In his speech, which *we ought* most religiously to believe, she is styled ‘a wicked woman, and a common prostitute.’

“ I shall proceed in further elucidation of the danger, as well as of the absurdity, of Mr. Burke’s doctrine.

“ He has affirmed, that to let the lands of Bengal in farm, was a most wicked, corrupt, and oppressive system, invented by Mr. Hastings, unauthorised by the Directors, and a scandalous violation of the rights of the nobility and country gentlemen of Bengal.

“ Mr. Burke has represented himself as a laborious, plodding, and inquisitive man, who has been intent upon the discovery of Indian grievances for eight years. What reliance ought the House, or the public, to whom he has appealed, to place upon his accuracy or fidelity, when it is a notorious fact, that the plan for farming the lands was adopted in various instances three years before Mr. Hastings adopted it; and is thus mentioned by Governor Verelst and Mr. Becher, in a letter to the select committee in Bengal, dated from Morshedabad, the 30th of July, 1769?

“ ‘ The plan we wish to see generally followed is, that of letting the lands to farm, for a term of years, as we are persuaded that mode tends most to the welfare of the inhabitants, the improvement of the country, and of course the benefit of our employers. We are happy to find the Hon. Court of Directors seem to have adopted the same sentiments; and we flatter ourselves *the beginning that is now making, in letting out to farm the districts of Raje Shahy and Nuddea, will in time be followed throughout the Province of Bengal.*’

“ Here is another strong instance brought, in order to prove that the House cannot, and ought not, to give entire credit to Mr. Burke.

“ In his last speech, he read a testimonial which Lord Cornwallis and his council had transmitted to the court of Directors from the Rajah of Dinagipore, a boy whom he represented to be eleven or twelve years of age. Mr. Burke might well say, indeed, that such a testimonial, from such a child, was only to be mentioned with ridicule, or with contempt; and in such a contemptible light he did represent it. This testimonial the House has not seen; but if they were to give entire credit to Mr. Burke, they might suppose, *that no other signature appeared to the testimonial.* The fact, however, is, *that it is signed by all the public officers of the Rajah, who manage the business of the Zemindary for him; and the next name to the rajah's is that of the Naib Zemindar, or Public Minister.* I have been asked seriously, of what validity the testimonial of such a child could be; so completely were Mr. Burke's auditors convinced, by his general argument, that no other signature was affixed to it, but that of the infant, as he called him!

“ I should encroach too much upon your time and your paper, were I to produce the various instances that have occurred, by which I could prove that Mr. Burke's doctrine is a most dangerous one indeed. The good sense and the justice of the House rejected it at once; but it appears to me, that Mr. Burke wishes for the decision of the public also upon the same point. If I am right in this conjecture, I am justified in

laying before them a few facts, by which they may determine, that neither the House nor the public ought to give him credit for the veracity of the facts he either affirms or denies.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"JOHN SCOTT.

"*Holles-street, May 11, 1789.*"

As no notice was taken of these letters, Mr. Scott was emboldened to publish the following one.

"*To the Printer of the Diary.*

"SIR, If a man of the rank of one of His Majesty's Privy Counsellors does not conceive it below his dignity to revive a calumny long ago refuted, it is not unbecoming in me again to take notice of it.

"The story that appears in your paper of Wednesday, as told by Mr. Burke in the House of Commons, was circulated last year, and a noble earl and a learned judge (who is a peer of the realm) were said to have mentioned it. Mr. Burke, who made the first enquiry on the subject in Leadenhall-street, informed Mr. Hudson, that Major Scott had told the respectable nobleman who presented Mr. Hastings' petition, that he had paid three thousand pounds for copying papers at the India House. Mr. Hudson, from whom I received this information, told Mr. Burke, at my express desire, that *I had never made such an assertion to any person.*

"The story, as told by the learned judge, if I was rightly informed, was *materially* different; namely, that *Mr. Hastings* was the person who gave the information to the nobleman who presented his petition. It was now become a most serious affair; and, effectually to counteract the mischief which such a story, coming from such a quarter, might do, I published the real state of the fact on the 3d of July last, and hearing nothing from either of the parties who had circulated the tale (a tale so much in the style of Mr. Sheridan's story in his *School for Scandal*), I

concluded that my explanation cleared up the matter, and that they were not a little chagrined; upon considering the injury they might have done a persecuted man, by repeating a table conversation, in which the mistake of a single word makes the whole difference between the truth and falsehood of the story.

“ Mr. Burke, after almost a year’s silence, has thought proper to repeat this calumny, and has reduced me to the necessity of again refuting it. Indeed it was one of the most cogent arguments that he adduced, in order to persuade the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, to persevere in a prosecution which has already been dragged on to a length that excites the regret of every honest man in England, and the astonishment of every enlightened statesman in Europe.

“ I am ready at all times to do justice to Mr. Burke, and I sometimes follow his example, by laying before the public my sentiments on points in which the public has a material interest. Upon this principle I shall examine the truth of an assertion which, as appears by your paper, fell from him on Tuesday last:— ‘ That the delays which had hitherto occurred on the trial were imputable to Mr. Hastings.’ Mr. Burke might have said in the words of Richard,

I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.  
The secret mischiefs that I set abroad,  
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.

“ That it was Mr. Burke’s *original intention* that the trial should not come to a close in *the present parliament*, I conscientiously believe; and therefore I looked upon the motion inserted in your paper as nugatory. I will state the grounds upon which that opinion has been formed.

“ In the *first year* of this extraordinary trial, the Lords sat thirty-five days; they generally met at twelve, sometimes earlier, and sat often till after five; therefore Mr. Burke’s calculation of three hours a day is entirely erroneous. There was not a single dispute in that year about evidence to

cause delay. Is there a man of common sense will tell me, that thirty-five days were not sufficient for the trial, had Mr. Burke *really* wished to bring it to a close? What impediments did Mr. Hastings's counsel throw in his way? Thirteen days were wasted in speeches; four by Mr. Burke, four by Mr. Sheridan; by Mr. Fox, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Adam, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Grey, one day each; I say wasted, without meaning to detract from the merit of those gentlemen; for neither the Lords who are to decide, the Commons who are the prosecutors, nor the men, women, and children who heard the speeches, can possibly recollect a word of them, except Mr. Burke's story of Deby Sing, and Mr. Sheridan's exquisite eulogium upon filial love and parental affection.

“ This was undoubtedly the year of Mr. Burke's triumph; for as he *knew* Mr. Hastings could not *then* be heard, eloquence and harsh epithets could be applied with perfect safety, but *the second year* was commenced under singular disadvantages. The malicious story of Deby Sing had been fully refuted. Many gentlemen had arrived from Bengal since the commencement of the trial, who were perfectly disinterested as to the event of it. These gentlemen concurred in their report of the astonishment and regret with which the account of the prosecution of Mr. Hastings had been received in India; and no man possessed of three grains of common sense can believe that the testimonials subscribed by all ranks of people in India could have been transmitted through Lord Cornwallis, if his lordship had not been thoroughly convinced that they contained the real sentiments of the people. All rational men execrated the trial, and certain well-known occurrences in England had considerably added to the unpopularity of the leading managers of it. Mr. Burke began this *second year*, by a *second speech of four days*. The remainder of the year was chiefly consumed in altercations upon the competency of evidence; of twelve questions submitted to the decision of their lordships, ten were determined against the managers, and two in their favour.



“ It will hardly be credited, that this whole year was consumed in an enquiry into the merit of transactions that happened in Bengal in the year 1772, which were fully known in England in 1776, upon which Mr. Burke has not once said that he can produce a tittle of new evidence. But the novelty of the proceeding will strike gentlemen more strongly, when they know, that upon the ground which Mr. Burke took last year in Westminster Hall, Lord North exerted his whole influence in 1776, to remove Mr. Hastings from the government of Bengal, and that the Marquis of Rockingham, with all his friends, voted for his continuance, and beat the minister, though at that time in the plenitude of his power.

“ In the winter of 1778, Lord North himself proposed to the legislature, that Mr. Hastings should be re-appointed governor-general of Bengal. He did the same the next year, and the year following, and it is something singular, that Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, who could not discover common sense in any other measure that his lordship proposed during the late war, concurred with him in the propriety of this.

“ Lord North, in reply to a question that I once took the liberty to put to him, acknowledged that he had wished to remove Mr. Hastings, in 1776; that he had since that period proposed his re-appointment three several times when his term of service expired by law; that he did so, because it was in a season of war, and of great difficulty and danger, and because Mr. Hastings possessed firmness, vigour, and abilities, and the confidence of the East India Company.

“ How far it was just or honourable in the representatives of a great nation to keep a man in a high office, by various re-appointments, and then to prosecute him upon accusations well known some years prior to the first of those re-appointments, I will not venture to determine; but I am confident there will be but one opinion upon the subject, when it shall be considered, without prejudice, passion, or party.

“ Thus ended the *second year* of the trial. — To impute the obstructions that occurred in the course of it to Mr. Hastings, is to add insult to injury.

“ The *third year* of the trial began on the 16th of February. Much of the time, as in the last year, has been consumed in disputes upon evidence.— Four questions have been referred to the judges, and all of them determined against the managers. This great national trial stands thus : For the *first year* there was not a single dispute upon evidence ; the Court met early, sat late, had thirty-five sitting days, thirteen of which were consumed on speeches.

“ The *two next years* have been chiefly spent in disputes upon evidence, Mr. Burke’s second speech of *four days*, and Mr. Anstruther’s of one, excepted. Sixteen times have the Lords adjourned to the chamber of parliament to determine upon the admissibility of evidence. Fourteen of the decisions were *against the managers*, and two in their favour. The lords acted constantly with the advice and assistance of the judges of the land.

“ After this plain recital of facts, I would ask any candid and impartial man, if I am not well grounded in believing that Mr. Burke had *pre-determined* not to close the prosecution before the dissolution of parliament. As to the two motions which appear in your paper, I shall not presume to comment on them. When Mr. Burke gave his first notice in the House, if your paper is correct, he mentioned something of the new and dangerous doctrines delivered in Westminster Hall. Possibly he afterwards thought it a point of too much delicacy to attack all the law of the land, and therefore changed his battery, thinking, perhaps, that Mr. Hastings, who had already borne so much abuse, could sustain a little more.

“ Upon one other part of Mr. Burke’s speech, I shall say a word or two, because in the pressed state of the funds it was calculated to sink them still lower.

“ He read a *partial extract* from a letter of Lord Cornwallis, in which mention is made of the poverty and wretchedness to which the natives of Bengal are reduced, by the *defects* of our *former system*. The conclusion drawn by Mr. Burke from this passage was, that Mr. Hastings had grossly mismanaged the country. The *defects* to which Lord Cornwallis

alluded (that of not letting the lands in perpetuity), Mr. Hastings never had the authority to remedy, nor was it given to the Bengal government until the year 1786; but Mr. Burke's argument is *totally* destroyed by the contents of *another letter* from Lord Cornwallis, received by *the same ship*. His lordship in that letter assures the Directors, that they may depend upon the continuance of an annual surplus of more than two hundred lacks — a surplus far beyond what I calculated upon, when I was accused of being too sanguine in my expectations — a surplus that totally overturns every argument used by Mr. Fox in support of his bill.

“ But as this is a point on which the public credit of the country is concerned, I shall state it from the journals of the House of Commons.

“ The year preceding Mr. Hastings' accession to the government of Bengal, the total receipts of that government were only three hundred and thirteen lacks of rupees.

“ The annual receipts of that government, in the average of three years from 1781-2 to 1783-4, were five hundred and two lacks of rupees. From 1782-3 to 1785-6, five hundred and twenty-one lacks. From 1785-6 to 1787-8, five hundred and eight lacks. From 1786-7 to 1788-9, five hundred and thirty lacks.

“ Let any gentleman who has the least knowledge of business determine, whether a country producing so equal a revenue for so many years is in danger of being ruined. The fact is, that in the same period that the British nation nearly doubled its debt, and lost its western empire, Mr. Hastings increased the revenues of Bengal two millions sterling a year, and extended the British Empire in India; and while the ingenuity of the present minister has been exhausted in an attempt to raise the revenues of Great Britain a million beyond its expenditure, without the imposition of additional burthens, Lord Cornwallis assures *his constituents* that *this* may be depended upon, an annual surplus of more than *two millions sterling* from Bengal.

“ These circumstances strike me with no little astonishment, and often occur to my mind when I cast my eyes upon some of Mr. Hastings’s old friends in the manager’s box, or when I hear it gravely affirmed, in direct opposition to the evidence of figures, to truth, and to common sense, that his measures have been attended ‘with great loss and damage to the East India Company,’ and that they were carried on, ‘to the vexation, oppression, and destruction of the natives of Bengal.’

“ I am, Sir, your humble servant,

“ JOHN SCOTT.

“ *Bombay, May 16, 1790.*”

General Burgoyne, having complained to the House of Commons, of the liberties taken in the last letter, the three following propositions were moved and carried.

1. “ That the letter published in the *Diary* of May 18, (1790) is a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting on the honour and justice of the House, and on the conduct of the managers appointed to conduct the impeachment now pending against Warren Hastings, Esq.

2. “ That John Scott, Esq. being, by his own acknowledgment, the author of the said letter, is guilty of a violation of his duty as a member of this House, and of a high breach of the privilege of this House: and,

3. “ That John Scott, Esq. do attend and be reprimanded in his place.” This was done accordingly by the Speaker, in the following terms:—

“ Mr. Scott, — The House have resolved, that you, being the author of a Letter which the House have declared to be a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting on the honour and justice of this House, and on the conduct of the managers appointed to manage the impeachment now depending against Warren Hastings, Esq. are guilty of a violation of your duty as a member of this House, and of a high breach of the privilege of this House.

“ On the nature and magnitude of your offence it is unnecessary for me to dwell : whatever has a tendency to depreciate the honour and justice of this House, particularly in the exercise of its inquisitorial functions, tends, in the same proportion, to weaken and degrade the energies and dignity of the British constitution.

“ The privileges of this House have a claim to the respect of every subject of this country. As a member of this House, it is your duty, as it is a part of your trust, to support and protect them. Had a sense of these obligations produced its due influence on your mind and conduct, you would have avoided the displeasure of this House, and I should have been spared the pain of declaring to you the result of it. The moderation of the House is not, however, less manifest on this occasion, than their just sense of their own dignity, and of the importance of their own privileges. It is my duty, in addressing you, to be guided by the lenity which marks their proceedings ; and, in the persuasion that the judgment of the House will operate as an effectual admonition to yourself and to others, I forbear to say more, than that the House have directed that I reprimand you for your said offence ; and, in obedience to their commands, I do reprimand you accordingly.”

Anterior to this event, Major Scott had frequently experienced the support of the House, and moved several questions, in most of which he proved successful. But the current, after the reprimand, appears to have run in a contrary direction ; and, indeed, his enemies seem to have considered this as a complete triumph over him.

However, the major continued to harrass the managers in every possible way, sometimes with, and at other times without the assistance of ministers. In 1792, he stoutly opposed the production of papers, then moved for, on the part of those who conducted the impeachment. This was founded on the danger arising from such communications, so far as they regarded the native powers in India. “ A right honourable gentleman” (Mr. Dundas), observes he, “ has

changed his opinion on this subject, but I have not altered mine. He sets up a distinction between the events of the present and the former war, because the original enquiry in respect to it, originated in a secret committee; but that committee reported every thing to the House, even including all secret consultations, minutes, and negotiations; and upon these were formed a series of criminatory resolutions now upon the journals, closing with the solemn opinion of a former parliament, that the first subject in India, the governor-general, should be removed.

“ These resolutions arrived in India, in August, 1782; the most critical moment of the last war, when the British empire actually hung by a thread, and I can bring proof to your bar, that these mischievous resolutions stopped the ratification of the Mahratta peace, for seven months, and most absurdly weakened the government of Bengal, on which every thing depended, at the time when, of all others, it required every possible support from home. So thinking, I shall certainly oppose the production of papers in this war, though our situation is so materially different; having all India with us now, except Tippoo Sultan, and no European army to contend with.”

But Major Scott did not confine his opposition to the production of papers, for he objected to the expenses of the prosecution, as outrageously excessive; and at the same time complained, that in some of their proceedings, the Managers were actuated by personal hostility against himself. He accordingly moved the printing a statement of the charges made by Messrs. Wallis and Troward.

“ On a former occasion,” observed he, “ when the Marquis of Graham made a similar motion, which was supported by His Majesty’s Ministers, I took no part; but when, by a late correspondence, the Lords of the Treasury appear to be alarmed at the expenditure, I have been led to examine the accounts with some accuracy, and must say, that they are enormous in their amount, unauthorised in their matter in many instances, and contain *items* truly disgraceful. The more clearly to show the grounds on which I proceed, it will

only be necessary to read an extract from the Treasury letter, with the managers' answer. By those documents it will appear, that 3495*l.* had been expended in eleven days of the trial; and as the lords were apprehensive lest a very heavy charge might be incurred by the public, they recommend to the managers to consider whether that charge might not be diminished in future. The reply was, that a great part of the sum alluded to, had been spent in applying and arranging the general body of the evidence.

"It is upon these papers," continues he, "that I found my opinion of the enormous and profligate waste of the public money. After reading over all the accounts with great attention, I am ready to prove, that there are charges to a very large amount which the solicitors, who are the servants of this House, had not the least authority to contract. Among the rest there is one too inconsiderable, in its amount, to be noticed, but which betrayed a spirit that would have disgraced a Spanish inquisition. One *item* of this bill, is 25 guineas for reading over newspapers from 1788 to 1790, in order to select censurable or libellous passages written by *me*. This was no part of the business delegated by the House to the solicitor; and the man, be he whom he would, who employed him in such a character, degraded his own character, and disgraced the House of Commons. But this was too trivial for notice, except that it was one among many instances, where the public interest had been sacrificed to private purposes. There were also many other improper *items*, and the expense of this prosecution having now amounted to 33,000*l.*, I shall move that Mr. Troward be called to the bar of the House, at some future day, to give an account of these things."

The agent of Mr. Hastings, on this occasion, was treated with great harshness by both sides of the House. Lord North, one of the managers, observed "that if the person to whom the 25 guineas had been given, did but his duty, he had fairly earned this sum, as it was not easy to find any one to read as fast as the major could write." Mr. Sheridan flippantly observed, that "if any attorney had the patience to read all

the trash alluded to, no person could say that this sum was extravagant; but the officer in question possessed the very singular consolation, that he had, at least, *one* reader," the Chancellor of the Exchequer who "was pleased to consider this 'as a very niggardly payment,' for reading all the honourable member's productions," and on dividing the House for the production of papers, but one member appeared for the affirmative, while 104 voted against the motion.

Major Scott, however, finally triumphed; for, after a trial, unexampled either in point of length or expense, Mr. Warren Hastings was finally acquitted by the House of Lords. In addition to this, the East India Company passed a vote, to indemnify him from the heavy charges accruing in consequence of the prosecution; to that was superadded a liberal pension; and although never employed by the Crown, yet, after a decent interval, during which Mr. Burke ceased to exist, he was raised to the rank of a Privy Counsellor of Great Britain.

When the hurry of the impeachment was over, Major Scott Waring determined to retire from public affairs, and dedicate the remainder of his life to domestic comfort. He accordingly led to the Hymeneal altar, Miss Hughes, a lady of some celebrity, who, a little before this, had withdrawn from the stage. He accordingly bought a charming house and estate near Fulham, where he lived for some years; and by this lady he had a son, now an officer in the army. This union was dissolved by a catastrophe equally singular and affecting; for his lady, happening, in 1812, to go to bed unattended, is supposed to have fallen backwards, by some unlucky accident, the body being discovered at the foot of the well-staircase early next morning, entirely deprived of life.

After some time spent in widowhood, the major made choice of the beautiful Mrs. Eston, who, in the former part of her life, had also been on the stage.

By this time he had attained a good old age, and it became evident, a few years after, from his infirm state of body, that the period of his dissolution was fast approaching. Major



Scott Waring, accordingly, after occupying the public attention during many years, died at his house in Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, on Wednesday morning, May 5, 1819.

*List of the Works of Major Scott Waring.*

1. A Short Review of the Transactions of Bengal during the last Ten Years, 8vo. 1782.

2. A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal during the administration of Mr. Hastings, 8vo. 1784.

3. Two Letters to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, in reply to the insinuations and palpable misrepresentations contained in a pamphlet entitled, The Ninth Report from the Select Committee, 8vo. 1783.

4. Letter to Mr. Fox on his India Bill, 8vo. 1783.

5. Reply to Mr. Burke's Speech on Mr. Fox's East India Bill, 8vo. 1784.

6. The Conduct of His Majesty's late Ministers considered, as it affected the East India Company and Mr. Hastings, 8vo. 1784.

7. Speech in the House of Commons on the Declaratory Bill, 8vo. 1788.

8. Observations on Mr. Sheridan's Comparative Statement, 4to. 1788.

9. Charge against Mr. Burke, 8vo. 1788.

10. Seven Letters to the People of Great Britain, by a Whig, 8vo. 1789.

11. Letter to the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, on the extraneous matter contained in Mr. Burke's Speeches in Westminster Hall, 8vo. 1789.

12. A Second Letter to Mr. Fox, containing the final decision of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal on the charges brought against Rajah Deby Sing, 8vo. 1789.

13. A Third Letter to Mr. Fox, on the same subject, 8vo. 1789.

14. Speech in the House of Commons, proving the increase of the revenue of Bengal during the administration of Mr. Hastings, 8vo. 1791.

15. Letter to Mr. Dodsley, in refutation of certain misrepresentations contained in the historical part of the Annual Register for 1788, 8vo. 1791.

16. Letter to Philip Francis, Esq., 8vo. 1791.

17. Two Letters to George Hardinge, Esq., M.P., 8vo. 1791.

18. Letter to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, 8vo. 1791.

19. Observations on Belsham's Memoirs of the Reign of George III., 8vo. 1796.

20. Observations on the Present State of the East India Company, 4th edition, 8vo. 1808.

21. Reply to a Letter addressed to John Scott Waring, Esq., in refutation of the illiberal and unjust observations of the anonymous writer, 8vo. 1808.

22. A Letter to the Reverend John Owen, in reply to his Strictures on the Observations of the Present State of the East India Company, 8vo. 1808.

23. Remarks on two Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, on the probability of converting the natives of India to Christianity, 8vo. 1808.

24. Letter addressed to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, in reply to the Critique on Lord Lauderdale's View of the East India Company, 8vo. 1810.

25. Supplement to the above Letter, 8vo. 1810.

26. Remarks on the Reverend Doctor Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia, 8vo. 1812.

27. Remarks on Mr. Weyland's Letter to Mr. Hugh Inglis, on the State of Religion in India, 8vo. 1813.

## No. XI.



JOHN WOLCOT, M.D.

BETTER KNOWN BY HIS POETICAL APPELLATION OF

“PETER PINDAR, Esq.”

IT has been frequently remarked, with more point, perhaps, than propriety, “that the best account of authors is to be found in their works.” This, even as a general proposition, is inaccurate in no common degree, and in the present instance would prove fallacious in the extreme. The life of the subject of the present memoir is interesting on many accounts. It has been varied by incident, distinguished by poetical success, and chequered with both good and ill fortune. Unlike *those men of letters*, who seclude themselves from society, and scarcely ever wander beyond the precincts of their native village, or the suburbs of a great capital, he became acquainted with the world at an early period; and, not content with the limits of

provincial practice, actually went abroad in search of fortune and adventures.

On his return to England, after a residence of some years in tropical climates, London became the theatre of his literary labours; and he soon rendered his *borrowed* name celebrated by a new species of poetry, while he connected his *real one* with the progress and history of the fine arts. Happily, too, almost every particular of his life is known to his friends; he himself, also, has left ample memorials behind him; so that public curiosity cannot fail to be amply gratified in this respect. The greater part, indeed, of what follows is the immediate result either of oral communication, or authentic documents; so that little or nothing is hazarded either by vague speculation or loose suggestions.

It appears from a letter written with his own hand, and now lying before the writer of the present article, to whom it was addressed, that Dr. John Wolcot was born at a village in the hundred of Coleridge, and county of Devon, which he terms *Dodbrook*, in express opposition, both to geographers and natives, who usually terminate the name with a \* vowel. This may appear a trivial remark; but, lest the birth-place of Peter Pindar should be hereafter disputed, as was the case with that of Homer of old, it may be proper to ascertain the precise spot, and thus set future conjecture at defiance. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that at the time this little obscure hamlet had the honour to produce our bard, it did not contain above twenty or thirty houses. Of the fertility of the surrounding country he was accustomed to boast, and would frequently term it the garden of England.

It is evident from the Parochial Register†, that he was christened May 9, 1738, O. S. His father, Mr. Alexander

\* *Dodbrooke*. It appears, from the last survey, now to contain 84 houses and 609 inhabitants; a considerable increase both in respect to population and tenements having lately taken place. The distance from London is 207 miles; and before the epoch alluded to above, this retired village was only known to fame by the excellence of its *white beer*, for which the Rector once claimed tithe!

† "In 1738, May 9, John Wolcot, son of Alexander and Mary." This, like every other name in the kingdom, not even excepting the illustrious one of Sidney

Wolcot, appears to have been a substantial yeoman, who possessed and lived on a little freehold of his own, consisting of a small house or homestead, a barn, and some fields, which afterwards descended to the subject of this memoir by inheritance. His family consisted of a son and two daughters, both of whom were lately alive.

John received the rudiments of his education at Kingsbridge, a market town, situate on an inlet of the English Channel called *Solcomb River*, and connected with the hamlet of Dodbrooke by a bridge, along which he passed daily for the laudable purpose just mentioned. The Free-School of Kingsbridge had at that time for its master a person originally bred a Quaker. Mr. Morris, to whom we allude, possessed the reputation of being a good scholar: in addition to this, he was a man of amiable manners and benevolent disposition. Accordingly, he was always mentioned by his pupil with respect, and was undoubtedly deserving of it. Had it been otherwise, he would have been often subjected to the keenness of the poet's satire, who would most readily have detailed, and perhaps exaggerated all the bad qualities, concealed under primitive manners, and a decorous simplicity of dress. This must have furnished a rich harvest for the exercise of that *vis comica*, in which he stood unrivalled!

After having learned all, or nearly all, that the *quondam* disciple of Fox, Barclay, and Penn, was capable of teaching, John Wolcot was next sent to the seminary of a Mr. Heyden, at Liskeard, to complete his studies. Thence, however, he removed once more, with the same view, to the academy of the Reverend Mr. Fisher, at Bodmin, which, like the former, is also in the county of Cornwall.

Having now concluded the usual course of a provincial education, it was determined by a near relation, who appears to have acted with all the zeal and kindness of a father, that he

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(Sidny, Sydyn, or Sydney), has been spelt different ways, at different times, in deeds, instruments, &c., viz. Woolcot, Wolcott, Woolacot, Walcot, and Wolcot, the last of which appears to have been uniformly adopted both by the father and son.

should repair to the Continent, with a view of acquiring a certain polish, by learning the language and imitating the manners of a people, at that period deemed the politest in all Europe. He accordingly took his departure for Normandy, where he remained about a year; and if he did not imbibe a relish for elegant demeanour and graceful attitudes, he at least acquired a knowledge of the vernacular tongue of that country, which proved highly serviceable to him through life.

On his return, "Jack," as he was familiarly termed, immediately proceeded to the house of his kind uncle, at Fowey in Cornwall; and as it was now absolutely necessary to make choice of some profession, that of a practitioner in medicine was determined upon. This gentleman, then a respectable surgeon and apothecary, had already borne the chief, if not the whole expenses of his education; and having been fortunate in his pursuits, was, of course, anxious to bring up this young man under his own immediate auspices. He had already adopted his nephew as his heir; and he was now bound to him in the usual manner, as an apprentice, for seven years, with a view of making him, first, his assistant, and then his successor.

The following are some ludicrous directions, addressed to the pupils of country apothecaries, supposed to have been *written* about this period:—

Keep the shop clean, and watch it like a porter;  
 Learn to boil clysters; nay to give them too,  
 If blinking nurses can't the business do;  
 Write well the labels, and wipe well the mortar.

Before the boys can rise to master tanners,  
 Humble these boys must be and mend their *manners*;  
 Despising pride, whose wish it is to wreck 'em:  
 And mornings with a bucket and a stick,  
 Should never once disdain to pick,  
 From street to street, rich lumps of *album græcum*.

At what precise period the Muse first visited our youthful bard, or in what particular guise, it is difficult now to deter-

mine. But certain it is, that while an apprentice, among the “gallants of Fowey\*,” he might, with a trifling variation, have exclaimed, in the language of the celebrated Scottish bard: “The poetic Genius of my country found me, as the prophetic bard Elijah did Elisha — at the *Mortar*, and threw his inspiring mantle over me!”

His relation, who was a plain, unsophisticated, and sensible man, had so long and so intimately associated the words “poetry and poverty,” in his own mind, that he deemed them almost synonymous. He was extremely anxious that his nephew should “attend to the main chance,” and consequently apply himself to business alone. But the young apothecary was not, according to his own account, very zealous to become, what in scorn he termed a “plodder;” and he accordingly withdrew as often as possible, to indulge the master-passion of his heart in secret.

“As my uncle was always averse to my shining,” observes he, in a letter now before us, “I used to steal away to an old ruined tower, situate on a rock close by the sea, where many an early and late hour was devoted to the muses. This old tower I have painted, and it makes one of my picturesque views engraved by Alken.”

Here follows an “Ode to the River Fowey,” which may be supposed to have flowed at his feet, during these moments of inspiration; and, although it appears to have been actually composed, or at least retouched, at a latter period, there is but little doubt that the original ideas were conceived in his mind at the epoch to which we now allude.

O lovely flood, on whose fair banks  
 I play'd in early youth my pranks,  
 And often sail'd thy clear expanse along,  
 And from thy bosom hook'd up fish,  
 Pollock and bream, a dainty dish,  
 Salmon and mackarel, worthy epic song.

\* The inhabitants of this town were so denominated in the reign of Edward III., on account of their naval exploits. They were, at that period, half merchants, and half pirates. Preface to Burn's works.

Lobster, turbot, and John Dory,  
 As nice as e'er were put before ye,  
 O epicures! and plaice and mullet,  
 Fit to descend a royal gullet!

Thy margin green, and castles hoar,  
 Where heroes dwelt, and fought of yore.  
 And smote the daring Gaul with dread,  
 Boast not a muse to sing their praise  
 The tribute of immortal lays,  
 And cast a glory round their head.

Full oft in summer's golden hour,  
 We made in boats a happy tour,  
 Full many a nymph and swain;  
 And frequent on a verdant bank,  
 Our tea and well-cream'd coffee drank,  
 While music pour'd her strain,  
 Loud on the zephyr's pinions borne,  
 The triumph of the echoing horn.

The walks of Graham and Trefry,  
 The walks of Hall delight mine eye,  
 And pleasant valley of Lewire;  
 With villas on the winding stream,  
 That rather look of Fancy's dream,  
 And claim the Muse's loudest lyre.

Though Britain's king and Britain's queen  
 Are every year at Weymouth seen,  
 Thy spirits let me cheer;  
 For hark! this instant on the breeze,  
 In sounds of thunder from the seas,  
 A voice salutes mine ear!

The majesty of Ocean speaks!  
 And thus the god sublimely breaks;  
 Ye rivers list around!  
 Though some of ye on Britain's coast,  
 May many a beauty justly boast,  
 And much with fish abound;

Though far and wide may fly your name,  
 Yet it shall be your harbour's lot,  
 That pretty yet neglected spot,  
 To fill the largest trump of Fame.



Should Amphitrite and her maids,  
Sigh for the shore and rural shades,  
Variety t'enjoy;  
I'd swear by all my brine and fish,  
If such should be the lady's wish,  
I'll take a house at Foy. \*

Notwithstanding all these *untoward* propensities, it appears that our young Esculapius soon attained a competent share of medical knowledge, and also conducted himself in such a manner as to acquire the esteem of all to whom he was known.

In the art of drawing, too, he exhibited such an early proficiency as enabled him to depict surrounding objects with a considerable degree of taste and verisimilitude. He found means, at the same time, to improve both his head and his heart, by a sedulous perusal of the best modern writers.

His kind master, however, still persisted in his resolution of rendering him eminently expert in his art. It was accordingly with this view, that he fitted him out and sent him to London, for the express purpose of obtaining every possible professional assistance. It appears, indeed, from a note, that the chief object was "hospital practice," and this could be alone attained by a residence, of some duration, in the metropolis.

After this, young Wolcot went back to Cornwall, not a little improved, no doubt, both in his own estimation, and that of his neighbours. But he himself was not greatly attached to his present situation, and he began to consider Fowey as a place too small in point of importance, to become the theatre of his ambition. A lively imagination, too, had been set to work, and he was anxious to rush into the world, in search of fame and achievements. Accordingly, panting after distinction, he longed for an opportunity to change the scene and gratify his taste for variety, while he improved his condition.

One at length occurred. Sir William Trelawney, in the year 1767, had the good fortune to be nominated governor of Jamaica, a very lucrative as well as important office; and, even

\* Fowey is always so pronounced by the inhabitants.

at that period, the second or third in the gift of the crown. To go thither as the medical attendant of his excellency and family, and be considered one of his *suite*, was an object exactly fitted to the curiosity and ambition of Mr. Wolcot. Nor were his pretensions at all despicable, for he was either related or allied to the new governor, had by this time attained a mature age, and was duly qualified, both by the period he had spent in the capital and the circle of his provincial practice, for such a station. But it was not without great difficulty, and after many entreaties, that he could prevail on his uncle, who was known to and respected by the baronet, to interpose. Reluctant, however, as he was to part with his nephew, this kind hearted man so strongly urged his claims and pretensions, that the appointment actually took place. On this, he immediately applied for, and obtained a degree. As some doubts had been formerly engendered on this subject, we shall here quote a passage from the Doctor's own written communication: "I qualified myself for the medical walk solely, and the honour of M.D.\* was conferred on me by one of the Scotch universities; so that on my arrival in Jamaica, I acted only as physician."

On the voyage outward the frigate, as usual on similar occasions, anchored at the island of Madeira, for the express purpose of laying in a stock of wines, fruits, and other refreshments. The eyes of our bard had hitherto been only accustomed to the wild scenery of Cornwall; rocks, mountains, water, and these too on a grand scale were familiar to him. But here he beheld all these component parts of beauty under new modifications, arising from a sun almost vertical, a soil eminently fertile, and a climate warm, healthy, pure, and serene. Here too the woods and plantations exhibited a

\* It would appear that the *diploma* was not transmitted until after the receipt of proper certificates, testifying the skill and respectability of the candidate. The celebrated Dr. Huxham, then residing at Plymouth, was so conscientious on the present occasion, that he would not affix his signature, until after a strict examination by himself.

It is not however correct, although repeatedly stated, that Dr. Wolcot accompanied his Excellency in the character of "Physician General to the island," as no such appointment existed either then or now.

degree of luxuriance seldom witnessed by an Englishman, while the vineyards, loaded with the white and purple grape, proclaimed the approach of vintage. The apple and the pear were indeed almost unknown; but the face of the country seemed to present the gardens of the Hesperides to his enraptured view; for it exhibited the pine, the orange, the pomegranate, the fig, and an endless variety of other productions, in a degree of beauty, excellence, and abundance seldom witnessed by mortal man.

Perched on the back of a mule, Doctor Wolcot gratified his curiosity by ascending the neighbouring hills; now viewing the boundless ocean to the right, and now turning to the left, to contemplate the objects around him, every one of which attracted his attention, by its richness, novelty, or picturesque appearance. He endeavoured to transfer some of these enchanting views to paper; but without much success: for here were not to be found any of his favourite objects: ruined battlements, decayed castles, and solitary rocks.

The efforts of his pen proved far superior to those of his pencil; the Muse, which had so often visited him in Cornwall, did not forsake him here: for he composed some sonnets, which, from their elegant simplicity and plaintive air, were deemed highly deserving of attention.

After a residence of a few days in the capital, where they were treated with great hospitality by the Portuguese Governor, Sir William Trelawney and suite reembarked; and, receiving and returning a salute, the same as on their arrival, proceeded on the destined voyage. Having shaped their course for the West India Archipelago, which forms a crescent in the Atlantic, thickly studded with islands, they at length experienced the benignant influence of the trade-winds, and passing the tropic soon after espied land. Meanwhile they were all amused with the singular scene around them. Here was one of the numerous clusters of little islands, discovered by Columbus, within sight, and almost within grasp. The shore was level and swampy, but it soon swelled, first into delightful ascents, and then into hills and mountains, the latter

of which scorned to hide their heads in the clouds. Midway, a number of black little animals were to be seen, forming one long continuous line, amidst fields which were tinged with a deep yellow. On recurring to the spy-glass, it could be plainly perceived, that these were male and female negroes employed in cutting down canes. The sound produced by the whips of the drivers, although reverberated from the rocks, could not be heard; but the motions of the overseers inciting the flagging slave to his daily labours, might be distinctly seen!

The ocean itself exhibited a similar scene of cruelty, injustice, and oppression, as if emulous to outdo man in his misdeeds! Here was the albicore pursuing the flying-fish, and forcing whole shoals of them to take refuge in a new element. There was the shark, attended by the perfidious pilot-fish, ready to devour whatsoever living creature came within the reach of his perfidious jaws. But they were all incited by the dire cravings of hunger, to carnage. Man alone can be brutal and unfeeling from the vile and degrading passion of avarice!

These painful reflections were for a time soothed, if not forgotten, by the cooings of the turtle-dove in the neighbouring grove, the beautiful plumage of the humming-bird, scarcely larger than an humble bee, and the scarlet wings of the flamingo, that wheels gracefully around in rapid circles.

All these were new and interesting subjects to our young physician. He treasured up every thing in his memory, and in a poetical mind, constituted like his, a variety of beautiful imagery was thus suddenly produced, fresh objects of reference and comparison were unexpectedly discovered, while all the wonders of a new world burst with tenfold lustre on his dazzled senses.

On arriving at Port Royal, Jamaica, Dr. Wolcot, of course, proceeded in his Excellency's train to *St. Jago de la Vega*, commonly called Spanish Town. This was the seat of Government, but it was then, and still is a very dull town, being

totally devoid of commerce. To attain an extensive practice here was difficult, if not utterly impossible, from the scantiness of the white population; for little or nothing could be obtained from the Mestizes, the Quadroons, the Mullatos, the Sambos, and the Negroes, who form the chief portion of the motly inhabitants.

Dr. Wolcôt had been instigated to this voyage by a variety of motives and desires, some of which were now fully gratified. But to encounter all the fervours of a scorching sun, to expose himself to all the diseases of a tropical climate — and yet to have no prospect of acquiring moderate wealth, or even of attaining a permanent provision for old age, produced a variety of disagreeable reflections.

The truth is, that the Governor of Jamaica then possessed but a very trifling patronage; and that the island, at the period alluded to, was impoverished by a war with the runaway negroes, a body of whom, under the name of *Maroons*, and with promises of freedom and protection, had just been permitted, or rather *allured*, to settle at a place named Trelawneytown, in compliment to his Excellency, who had signed the capitulation.

Amidst this scene of gloom and despondence, Sir William spoke to the Doctor as follows: “You know, my dear Wolcôt, that I am eager to serve you; but you must also be convinced of the insufficiency of my means. What a pity you were not bred a parson. The rector of ——— is just dead, and the presentation is in my gift.”

“I wish your Excellency would confer this piece of preferment on me; if it did not render me rich, it would at least make me comfortable. You know that Sunday is the market and holiday of the negroes, and that the planters being more busy on that than any other day of the week, in settling their accounts and adjusting their affairs, there is little or no attendance. In short, it would prove a mere sinecure.” The Governor acceded to the request, and it would appear, from the following passage, written by our Reverend Divine, that he applied to his diocesan, the Bishop of London, and passed

through the usual ceremonial. Nor ought it here to be forgotten that the island where he was now settled presented a very different appearance, in point of civilisation, half a century ago, to what it does at present. The white people were more lax in their morals; the clergy inattentive to their duty; and the negroes deemed incapable of instruction; so that the prelate who presided over this colony was not indisposed to consent to the introduction of any decent clerical functionary. "The Bishop of London did ordain me," observes he, "and I held a living in Jamaica, but not of consequence sufficient to detain me in the island; so that on the death of his Excellency Sir William Trelawney I accompanied Lady Trelawney to England, in His Majesty's frigate the *Leostoffe*, Captain Cartrett."

It appears that the new rector entered on his employment with a considerable degree of reluctance. Indeed at first he both preached and prayed occasionally, when a congregation could be found; but he at length relaxed into apathy and indolence. The truth is, among his audience he seldom saw a *white* man; and as consequence, in a country cursed with slavery, depends solely on colour, his hearers were not deemed very reputable. I have been told by a respectable planter, that he was very fond of shooting *ring-tailed pigeons*, which are equal if not superior in flavour to our choicest game; and as every day was pretty much the same among the inhabitants in respect to sporting, on the forenoon of a fine Sunday the Doctor was particularly anxious to proceed to the neighbouring bay in search of diversion. On these occasions he was always accompanied by his clerk, who was a *good shot*; and they at length so contrived it, that after opening the doors of the church for ten minutes, if no persons presented themselves for admission, they constantly proceeded towards the sea-side, in quest of pastime!

An old negro, on seeing this, determined to raise a weekly contribution on, and make his rector pay for the dereliction of his duty. He accordingly presented himself regularly, with his wife and children, at the proper hour, who seated

themselves in great form. "What do you come here for *Blackee*?" exclaimed the parson; "Why, Massa, to hear your good sermon and all the prayers of the church." "Would not a *bit*\* or two do you more good;" "Yes, Massa Doctor, me love your prayers much, but me love your money too!" Having said this, he pocketed the donation, and gladly withdrew. This convention lasted for about a year, and the precise stipulations were regularly enforced during the whole of that period.

While rector of the parish of Vere, to which he was afterwards preferred, the duty was chiefly performed by means of a deputy, which of course entitled the subject of this memoir to all the advantages arising from *non-residence*. He accordingly returned to Spanish-Town, and appears to have rendered himself useful to his Excellency in a variety of departments, some of which were both novel and extraordinary.

Of his several occupations, that of grand master of the ceremonies was not the least conspicuous.

Among other great personages occasionally confided to his superintendence, was the king of the Musquitoes, an Indian tribe on the Spanish main, who owned allegiance to the king of England; and on the arrival of every new governor, their chief repaired to Jamaica, for the express purpose, not of giving, but receiving presents, which generally consisted of a tawdry laced coat, &c. "His Majesty †," observes the Doctor, "was a very stout black man, exceedingly ignorant, nevertheless possessed of the sublimest ideas of royalty; very riotous, and grievously inclined to get drunk. He came to me one day, with a voice more like that of a bullock than a king, roaring: — 'Mo' drink for king! Mo' drink for king!'

*P. P.* — 'King, you are drunk already.'

*King.* — 'No, no: King no drunk. Mo' drink for King! Broder George, (meaning the king of England,) love drink!'

*P. P.* — 'Broder George does not love drink; he is a sober man.'

\* A bit is a small piece of coin, of the value of five-pence.

† See Vol. ii. of Peter Pindar's Works. Note to page 506.

*King*. — ‘ But king of Musquito love drink. Me will have mo’ drink. Me love drink like devil. Me drink whole ocean.”

On the demise of his patron\*, which occurred at *St. Jago de la Vega*, after a short illness, all further hopes of preferment, and every inducement to a longer residence vanished. In addition to this, neither the society of the planters nor the situation now occupied by our bard, was in unison with his feelings. He was a poet, whose genius was lost amidst the fervours of the torrid zone, being calculated for temperate climes alone.

His muse seemed to droop in the vicinity of the Equator. His curiosity too, was, by this time, fully satiated; the sound of the merciless lash, and the cries of the tortured slave were not congenial either to the ideas or the pursuits of a man of taste. Perhaps also, as observed by James VI. of Scotland, after a short residence in England: “ he felt a salmon-like instinct to return to the place where he was first spawned.” Accordingly, in consequence of the express invitation of Lady Trelawney, Dr. Wolcot embarked on board a frigate, expressly provided by government, for the purpose of conveying her to England, and bid adieu to Jamaica and the pulpit, for ever.

An attempt was first made, to shorten the voyage, by sailing along what is called the *windward passage*; but after *beating up* against the currents and trade wind, for a considerable time, they fell to leeward, and coming in sight of Cuba, instead of St. Domingo, as was once intended, entered the Gulph of Florida, a more certain, although a more circuitous track.\*

\* Sir William Trelawney, of Trelawney in the county of Cornwall, Bart. was originally bred in the royal navy, and rose to the rank of Post-Captain. The government of Jamaica was obtained for him by Lord Shelburne, (the first Marquis of Lansdowne,) through the influence of Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton. He died at Spanish-Town, in December, 1768, leaving behind him a widow, who was attended to Europe by Dr. Wolcot. This lady’s maiden name was Letitia Trelawney, she being the grand-daughter of a Bishop of Bristol, and daughter of Sir Harry Trelawney, *Aide de Camp* to the Duke of Marlborough. Her Ladyship was consequently first cousin to her husband, whom she speedily followed to the grave, having died soon after his return to Cornwall.



It is likely, that by this time, their fresh provisions were nearly consumed, as the captain touched at the Grand Caymanas\*, for the sole purpose, in all probability, of obtaining a supply of turtle, which are there to be found in great abundance.

This little desolate spot, secluded from all the rest of the world, appears to have proved the scene of a very curious adventure to the subject of the present memoir, which shall be mentioned hereafter. It is thus, that with the kindred passions of poetry and romance, he celebrates this speck in the ocean, under the title of the "Island of Innocence," while in a note he describes the history of two lovers, whom he there met with.

To thee, my friend †, amid the peaceful isle,  
Where beauteous nature blooms with sweetest smile;  
Where never winter, or his northern blast,  
Howls on the hill, and lays the valley waste,  
O'er a pale sun the cloud of horror throws,  
And buries nature in his vast of snows;—  
Ah, no! where endless summer, ever gay,  
Opens a pure ether to the orb of day,  
That gilds the tree, and flower, and grassy blade,  
And works his threads of gold in every glade:—

\* Two clusters of islands, or rather of rocks, are laid down in the maps, by the English geographers, under the names of 'Great and Little Cayman.' They are situate in the Gulf of Florida, between the coast of Yucata in Spanish America, and Negril Point, in the Island of Jamaica. To the latter, they have always been considered as dependencies.

† A gentleman, whom the author of this poem met by the merest accident on a small island, situated near the Gulf of Mexico. His companions were, his wife, a most lovely woman, and four beautiful children, whose history would form a most interesting romance. Persecuted by their parents for a mutual love attachment, they forsook their native country (America), to seek some distant asylum. On their voyage they were wrecked; but fortunately escaped with their lives, and preserved their property.

"Finding the little island on which they were thrown to be in possession of a few inhabitants, of the most perfect simplicity of manners, and the most lively friendship; pleased, also, with the salubrity as well as beauty and fertility of the spot, they adopted the resolution of passing their days in this remote corner of the globe, convinced that the most perfect happiness resides oftener in simplicity than in splendour. Their opinion soon became realised: fond of the innocent natives, and equally beloved again, the delightful little republic flourished under their auspices, and restored the golden age."

To thee, my friend, where shrubs of incense rise,  
 And pour their grateful fragrance to the skies;  
 Where rills, in wanton mazes, wind away,  
 Diffusing health and plenty as they play;  
 Where the rich treasures of the pine reside,  
 And orange branches bend with golden pride;  
 Where, from the boughs of odour, mingled notes  
 Of rapture warble from a thousand throats;  
 And, blest from vale to vale, the cooing dove,  
 Wings with his mate, and teaches man to love:  
 To thee I yield the Muse's artless line,  
 And envy all the blessings that are thine.

Our author next represents the beautiful Julia, surrounded by her progeny, employed sometimes in rural, sometimes in scientific cares:

Pleased to explore the insect world, they rove;  
 Tribes of the flood, and minstrels of the grove;  
 With all the varying species of the field,  
 Whose forms and lives delight and wisdom yield,  
 Display the page of Providence's plan,  
 That shows his wond'rous works to wondering man.

No wish is theirs (forbid it Heaven!) to hurt,  
 To wound and murder a poor wretch in sport;  
 To lift the tube of death with hostile eye,  
 And dart a fluttering victim from his sky;  
 To bait with writhing worms the barbarous hook,  
 And drag the finny nation from their brook:  
 Justly forbid the cruelty to know,  
 And gather pleasure from the pangs of woe.

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Yes; oft in Fancy's eye thy cot I view,  
 Enwrapp'd with vines, and flowers of vivid hue;  
 The pebbled avenue, the murmuring spring,  
 Crowded with fearless birds of various wing,  
 That sportive, fluttering, pour the happy lay,  
 A mingled minstrelsy, the happy day:  
 And oft, in Fancy's ear, thy Julia's lute,  
 Whose melting sounds the soul of Pity suit,  
 Complaining die; and oft I hear again  
 A loud, a happy, cheerful, grateful strain,  
 Join'd by a little offspring's throats, that raise  
 The song of wonder in their Maker's praise.

Lady Trelawney and her *suite*, after repassing the tropic, immediately steered for Europe, and were in hopes of soon reaching an English port; but the captain of the *man of war*, under whose protection they were placed, either actuated by a wish of obtaining more refreshments, or obliged to alter his original destination by adverse winds, shaped his course for the Canaries, and anchored in sight of what is deemed the capital.

On landing there, in the autumn of 1762, Lady Trelawney, and those who accompanied her, were entertained with the most distinguished marks of attention, by the representative of the King of Spain. Dr. Wolcot, in particular, appears to have been highly delighted with the generous reception experienced by him from the Donna Marias and Donna Isabellas, whom he saw at the palace.\* "I was there," observes he, "in company with the Governor's widow. We remained for some time; and this also was the scene of several of my sonnets." Of the latter, unluckily, we cannot, at present, present our readers with any specimens. Indeed, a visit to the Fortunate Islands of the ancients, a view of the Peak of Teneriffe, to climb which he appears to have made an ineffectual effort; and the almost classical appellations of Palma Hiero, Gomera, &c., were all calculated to excite the happiest efforts of his muse. Fortune, however, has been careful to preserve some verses, which display his taste, even at that period, for the *ludicrous*.

It seems, that while Lady Trelawney was lodged at the Governor's house at Santa Cruz, Peter, and a son of the late Admiral Boscawen, were accommodated under the hospitable roof of Mr. Mackernick, one of the principal merchants of that place. His bed, for the first night at least, appears to have been a very uncomfortable one, for in the course of the very next morning he addressed an "ELEGY TO THE FLEAS OF TENERIFFE."

\* Two of these females were afterwards celebrated by him; the one under the appellation of "The Nymph Joanua," the other as "The Beauteous Catharina."

We shall here give a short quotation :

But, O ye ruthless hosts, an Arab train,  
 Ye daring light-troops of that roving race,  
 Know ye the strangers whom with blood ye stain?  
 Know ye the voyagers ye thus disgrace?

One is a doctor of *redoubted* skill,  
 A Briton born, that dauntless *deals in death*,  
 Who to the Western Ind did haste to kill,  
 And probably of thousands stop the breath :

A bard, whose wing of thought, and verse of fire,  
 Shall bid with wonder all Parnassus start ;  
 A bard, whose converse monarchs shall admire  
 And haply learn his lofty odes by heart.

The other, lo ! a pupil rare of Mars,  
 A youth who kindles with a father's flame,  
 Boscawen called, who fought a kingdom's wars,  
 And gave to immortality a name.

Lo ! such are we, freebooters, whom ye bite !  
 Such is our British quality, O fleas !  
 Then spare our tender shins *this one, one night*, —  
 To-morrow, eat Mackernick's, if ye please."

Dr. Wolcot, on his arrival in England, after an absence of about two years, immediately repaired to the residence of his kind and affectionate uncle, who received him with open arms. The old gentleman died soon after, and bequeathed his all to his nephew and two nieces, the sisters of our bard, who afterwards settled at Fowey. It was, however, divided into unequal portions, and the largest of these, amounting to nearly 2000*l.*, fell to the lot of the subject of these memoirs, who, we believe, was nominated sole executor, and residuary legatee.

About the year 1769, or 1770, Dr. Wolcot removed to Truro, with a view of settling there, and for about four years practised as a physician in that ancient corporate town. But he unfortunately rendered himself obnoxious to some of the principal inhabitants, and had to maintain a long, expensive, and litigious dispute with the churchwardens and overseers,

who had imposed on him a parish apprentice not only without his consent, but also against his repeated remonstrances. Failing in this suit, in the prosecution of which he had listened to rash and imprudent counsels, our bard determined to bid an eternal adieu to Truro. This circumstance is to be greatly lamented in more than one point of view, for notwithstanding scenes so hostile to the muses, our bard had become acquainted with Mr. Polwhele, then a school-boy, and was accustomed, now and then, to write compositions for that young gentleman which had been imposed by his master, for occasional omissions; while, at other times, they entered into competition with each other, and rendered versification more facile to both, by a mutual, but inoffensive rivalry. Here follows the translation of an epigram by honest Peter, achieved at the period to which we now allude, which has been greatly admired: —

Somne levis, quamque certissima mortis imago  
 Consortem, cupio te, tamen esse tori;  
 Alma quies, optata veni; nam, sic, sine vitâ  
 Vivere, quam suave est: sic, sine morte, mori.

Come, gentle sleep, attend thy vot'ry's prayer,  
 And though death's image, to my couch repair;  
 How sweet, thus lifeless, yet with life, to lie,  
 Thus, without dying, O how sweet to die!

From Truro, our bard removed to Helstone, a borough, like the former, appertaining to the duchy of Cornwall. Here he also remained, about the period of two years; but without any better success than before. He was a poet, and there was a versatility in his manners, studies, and pursuits, that seemed to preclude all confidence on the part of his patients. Dr. Darwin, we believe, concealed his taste for composition, during many years, from the public eye; and although he cherished this talent in secret, yet he never ventured to print until he had secured his independence. The passion appears to have

been much stronger on the part of Dr. Wolcot; it proved paramount, irresistible.

It was about the year 1779 that Dr. Wolcot discovered the talents of the late Mr. John Opie\*, and rescued him from worse than Egyptian bondage. Of their first meeting, and early connexions, more shall be said hereafter.

The Doctor took the youth home with him, and under his inspection, he soon improved himself greatly in drawing. He also placed several original paintings by way of models before him; and as it was necessary that he should earn a livelihood, portraits were of course preferred. Opie's fame at length got abroad, and several of the neighbours wished, in the language of his patron, "to have their likenesses *executed* by him, at five shillings a piece." To increase the circle of his customers, he made occasional excursions in the country.

The reputation of Opie was now so great, and his talents in so improving a state, that his friend and benefactor, in 1780, determined to accompany him to Exeter. While in that city, he may be considered as having practised on a far greater scale than before. There were not only some good judges in that place, but also a number of genteel persons, eager to encourage a young and rising artist.

Yet even this provincial theatre proving inadequate to the display of the talents of the young portrait painter, they at length repaired to London, where, as usual, they maintained themselves out of one common purse.

In the capital of the empire the talents of the pupil could not fail to attract attention, and no sooner were his merits known than he met with due encouragement. In the meantime, the genius of the patron also began to expand, and his fame to be disclosed; nor was he unmindful of his friend; for amidst volleys of critical abuse against some of the first painters of the age, he found both time and opportunity to praise Mr. Opie.

Speak, Muse, who form'd that matchless head?

The Cornish boy, in tin-mines bred;

\* His real name was *Oppy*.

Whose native genius, like his diamonds, shone  
 In secret, till chance gave him to the sun.  
 'Tis \* Jackson's portrait; put the laurel on it,  
 Whilst to that tuneful swain I pour a sonnet.

At length, towards the close of the eighteenth century, after long, numerous, and unwearied efforts, the talents of Peter Pindar became so conspicuous, and his renown so universally diffused, that Paternoster-Row and Whitehall, — the book-sellers and the ministers, — alike contended for his favour, and actually wooed him, like Danae of old, in showers of gold.

Accordingly, in 1795, Messrs. Robinson, Golding, and Walker, agreed to grant Dr. Wolcot an annuity of 250*l.* payable half-yearly, for the copy-right of his works. Unfortunately, the original document was drawn up with a very illaudable degree of obscurity, and each party, of course, adhered to that interpretation most consonant to his own interests; for, while the one claimed the *stipendium*, merely as a remuneration for the works already published, the other contended that it included all future ones, now or hereafter to be printed. As the two cases were drawn, as usual, with a *leaning* in behalf of the respective clients, the counsel employed were, of course, obliged to draw unfair inferences from false premises; and thus, as is usual, a law-suit became inevitable.

The *equity of the case* appears to have been clearly on the side of the poet; for his works were already exceedingly productive, and the sum granted to our annuitant, on the verge of sixty, was not at all an unreasonable compensation. Indeed, estimating at 10 years' purchase, it did not exceed 2500*l.*; and, in our own time, 3000*l.* have been given for a single poem!

Here follows Peter's own statement, in 1799: "With respect to my annuity from the Robinsons, it is 250*l.* per annum. It was *not* a part of the agreement, that they were to have my *future* works included for the annuity: those they were to purchase, provided I chose to *sell* them. Such is the

\* The late Mr. Jackson, of Exeter.

agreement. But possibly they wish to dragoon me into a sale."

After this, we believe, an action at common law was commenced, followed soon after by a suit in chancery; but, if we mistake not greatly, the annuity was at length paid with great regularity, first, by the Messrs. Robinsons, and after their death by Mr. Walker. But much *skirmishing* constantly took place on these occasions; and when the receipt was presented, at the end of every six months, many angry words passed, so that Peter was at length obliged to employ the good offices of a third person to transact the business. On these occasions he was particularly bitter, being accustomed to send most offensive messages, which the good sense of his friends, of course, either softened or suppressed.

Our bard did not forget to enumerate these squabbles among the miseries to which his life had been unhappily subjected:—

Fir'd with the love of rhyme, and, let me say,  
Of virtue, too, I sound the moral lay;  
Much like Saint Paul (who solemnly protests,  
He battled hard at Ephesus with *beasts*),  
I've fought with lions, monkeys, bulls, and bears,  
And got half Noah's ark about my ears;  
Nay more (which all the courts of justice know),  
Fought with the brutes of Paternoster-Row.

He also was not slow in proclaiming his hatred to booksellers in general, whom he was always anxious to represent as hard-hearted and unfeeling:—

#### TO THE MUSE.

Muse, we have finished now our Odes,  
And, verily, the songs of gods;  
But, let me tell thee, Muse (and much it pains),  
That those great traffickers in *words*,  
Those high and mighty pompous lords,  
The booksellers, will barely give me *grains*.  
'Hog's-wash is good enough!' they cry:  
Thus can I neither roast, nor fry.



'Tis hard that my poor mental mill  
 Is never suffer'd to lie still ;  
 Such, such, indeed, the avarice of the clan :  
 Forced every minute of the hour,  
 To grind, forsooth, for them the *flour*,  
 And feed myself, alas ! upon the *bran*.

Hard is their bridle : Lord ! with pain I shrink ;  
 Too hard upon my bleeding jaws they pull.  
 What shame that they, the lazy imps, should drink  
 Claret and Burgundy from my poor scull ;  
 And, with a saucy mortifying sneer,  
 Bid me be happy — upon *dead small beer* !

I boast one consolation, I allow,  
 My name will never be forgotten ;  
 When to posterity I make my bow,  
 These rogues are in oblivion rotten !

As to his connexion with Government, it was but of short duration, and occurred, if we mistake not, at a time when the “*Res Angusta Domi*” weighed heavily on his mind. The negotiation commenced on the part of the editor of a ministerial evening paper. This event occurred during Mr. Pitt’s administration, at a period when that minister had become rather unpopular ; and although praise was not expected from so satirical a pen, yet a hope seems to have been entertained, that by a witty and vituperative attack on the adverse party, they also might be obliged to share in the public indignation.

Peter was first introduced to Mr. —, then an under-secretary of state, who, at that period, possessed the full and entire confidence of the premier. Our poet was accustomed to ridicule the pomposity of this gentleman, and to mimic his voice and manners while he repeated the following emphatical sentence : “ There are certain sums, Dr. Wolcot, floating in His Majesty’s treasury for those who defend the cause of Government.”

But here follows Peter’s own account of this transaction, observing, at the same time, that the expressions are somewhat *coarse*, and consequently that this communication could only

have been made at a moment when actuated by no common degree of hostility: —

“As to the imputed pension, the fact is this; application was made to me by the friends of government, that if I would employ my pen in their favour, they would remunerate me with a pension. My reply was, in a jocular way, that as for varnishing knaves, I would never consent to it; I had no whitewash for devils; but if they would give me three or four hundred pounds per annum to be *mute*, I might accede. This I said without the most distant idea of the proposal being accepted; however they *did* accept it; a half year elapsed, when it was intimated to me, that *something* was expected from me in favour of administration. My reply was, that they had infamously violated the agreement, and that sooner than write for a set of men I despised, it should be void from that moment; and I pronounced it void; adding with some acrimony, that rascality might think itself happy in passing without notice. As I had taken up \* ten pounds of the annuity, I sent it back to them, and gave the pitiful scoundrels my half year's due. This is a fair picture of the matter, which they may have impudence enough to deny, but not powers to refute.

“I called on and complained to Mr. —, but his answers were ministerial — that is to say, replete with equivocation.”

Although not expressly specified here, there is reason to think that the pension in question amounted to 300*l.* per annum.

It was not until he was in full possession of all his fame, had got into easy circumstances, and attained the mature age of sixty-one, that by the intervention of a common friend, the writer of this article became acquainted with the celebrated Peter Pindar. Here follows a transcript from a note taken immediately after.

The first interview took place at his own apartments, No. 1. Chapel-street, Portland Road, February 28, 1801, where I

\* He actually borrowed this money from a friend in place.

was received with the most hearty welcome. The drawing-room, which was handsome, with three windows in front, had a painted cieling, and was adorned with pictures. These were few, but choice, and consisted of the celebrated "Sleeping Girl," by Sir Joshua; an excellent beggar by Opie, in which the *foreshortening* of the arm was effected with great skill; and a landscape by Wilson. In addition to these, was one of his own efforts, in crayons, together with a drawing, I believe, by General Kosciusko.

"At first sight the owner appeared to exhibit a strong resemblance, both in face and figure, to the late Dr. William Thomson, who completed Dr. Watson's History of Philip II. I could not forbear to intimate my opinion on this subject; and he very readily acknowledged that I was not singular in this idea.

"Soon after my arrival he seized on what he termed 'a dumb fiddle,' by means of which he endeavoured to play me a Welch tune. He then pointed to a *piano forte* placed there for the accommodation of his friend Shield; 'whose veins run milk,' said he, 'until once affronted, when the lamb is turned into the lion.'

"My host appeared to me to be a man of various excellence; he possessed much general knowledge, and was familiar with every thing respecting the fine arts. He affected, however, on this occasion, to be a *bon vivant*.

"While talking of medicine, notwithstanding he was a physician himself, yet he very candidly confessed, 'that although the sons of Esculapius might alleviate acute disorders, yet it was but seldom they could cure them.' Being in a convivial humour, with plenty of wine, &c. before us, he soon after exclaimed, with much animation, 'that he intended to live until he was a hundred;' and then gaily added, 'that while he possessed the free command of three things — brandy, fire, and flannel, a man must make interest to die!'

"By way of explanation, he immediately stirred the fire, mingled a very small portion of the right 'Nantz,' some water,

and orange juice together, and pointing to his body, observed ' that moisture was the greatest enemy to man; that his trunk and feet were cased in wool, and his very shoes stuffed with flannel. Peter was in exceeding high spirits on this occasion, for he had not only dissolved an injunction in chancery, obtained by two booksellers against him, but also procured a decree in his own favour, which, while it subjected them to costs, insured payment of the annuity they had formerly granted him.

" Life, he thought, even if accompanied with *torture*, was a blessing; he would willingly live over again his former days, and he seemed at this moment eminently possessed of all the pleasures resulting from enjoyment.

" Among other things, he talked to me of Jamaica; and observed, that he would not return to be governor! He then mentioned the Maroons and the bloodhounds; nor did he forget the ring-tailed pigeons. We had both crossed the *Monte Diabolo*, visited Kingston, Spanish-Town, &c. &c., and had also touched at the grand Caymanas, where I had only seen 5 or 600 wretched turtle, kept in salt-water pens; while he, roving in search of adventures, had encountered a shoe-maker, in the person of governor, and entered a miserable negro hut, which was converted into the residence of the commander-in-chief!

" But what delighted him still more, was to behold a lovely Anglo-American, most unexpectedly inhabiting a humble dwelling, who recounted part of her adventures to him, and added, ' that she and her lover had been wrecked here!'

" I could not on this occasion, refrain from smiling, on Peter assuring me, that when the lovely stranger had arrived at this part of her story, he arose, and with much animation exclaimed, " I hope to God, madam, he lost his life." But the fair *incognita*, who perceived that this was merely intended as a compliment to her beauty, and an avowal of his own gallantry, relieved him from his embarrassment, by calmly observing, ' that the gentleman in question had gone out to shoot doves for her dinner.' He in fact returned soon after; and they all kissed and cried at parting."

On a subsequent occasion, he recurred to the fine arts, and spoke of Sir Joshua with rapture; but his praise was not indiscriminate, for he chastened eulogium with something approaching to rebuke. "He was a great, a very great man, yet it must be candidly owned that he was also *very little* at times, particularly when soliciting the place of serjeant-painter from Lord Salisbury \*, which the King had intended for West; and also, when on inviting himself to breakfast, on his entrance, Sir Joshua appeared deeply intent on a volume of Peter Pindar !"

He frankly allowed "Barry to be a man of great genius," but in his dispute with Reynolds, "it was a mouse nibbling at the tail of the Nemean lion." "And yet," adds he, "his veins flow with *aqua fortis*, rather than with blood — wherever it falls it burns — either the feet or the clothes, as it may happen to light."

One day, on our return from a visit to the city, in the same carriage, the conversation happened to be directed towards the artist whom he had patronised, and who had formed one of our dinner party. He was of opinion "that Opie did not possess any intuitive genius, but rose chiefly on account of his enthusiasm for his art. His manner consisted of a happy imitation of a variety of painters; and, above all, he had learned to give *breadth* to his productions, by studying Sir Joshua."

I confess I at first thought, that this decision, which seemed to preclude all *originality*, had proceeded from somewhat like a settled resentment. The quondam friends now seldom met, indeed, even at table, and among strangers, without *bickering and sparring*; but I at length discovered, that this was actually the settled opinion of our Bard.

At my particular desire, he gave the following account of his first acquaintance and subsequent connexion with this artist. "Being on a visit to a relation in Cornwall," observed he, "I saw either the drawing or print of a farm-yard in the parlour, and after looking at it slightly, remarked, *that*

\* This nobleman was for many years Lord Chamberlain.

it was a busy scene, but ill executed. This point was immediately contested by a *she-cousin*, who observed, 'that it was greatly admired by many, and particularly by *John Opie*, a lad of great genius.'

"Having learned the place of the artist's abode, I instantly sallied forth, and found him at the bottom of a saw-pit, cutting wood, by moving the lower part of an instrument which was regulated above by another person. Having enquired in the dialect of the county, if he could paint?

"*Con you paient?*" I was instantly answered from below, in a similar accent and language; that he could *paient* Queen Charlotte, and Duke William \*, and Mrs. Somebody's Cot!

"A specimen was immediately shown me, which was rude, incorrect, and incomplete. But when I learned that he was such an enthusiast in his art, that he got up by three o'clock of a summer's morning to draw with chalk and charcoal, I instantly conceived that he must possess all that zeal necessary for obtaining eminence. A gleam of hope then darted through my bosom; and I felt it possible to raise the price of his labours from eight-pence or a shilling to a guinea a-day. Actuated by this motive, I instantly presented him with pencils, colours, and canvas, to which I added a few instructions."

The Doctor then proceeded to state, that Opie had the *run of his house* during the last three or four years that he remained in Cornwall.

"The young artist now got himself a nag," added he, "to carry him from place to place, in order to ease his limbs, and support the dignity of the profession. Though not so welcome as the master, the horse constantly lived in *clover*."

After two or three months absence from his patron, he returned to Truro with specimens of further progress, when the Doctor bade him boldly demand a *half guinea* for a head; to which the *modest youth* replied, that he was afraid that so great a sum was superior to his merits, and, moreover, that he really believed that the county could not *afford it*. The Doctor, however, persisted; and a half guinea was the future

\* William Duke of Cumberland.

stipulation between painter and sitter. In short, the youth, by his assiduity rose, to his own astonishment, to a guinea, to the entire satisfaction of his marvelling employers. "At length I proposed to him, first to go to Exeter, and then to London, and having lost an income of 300*l.* or 400*l.*, by the change of scene, entered into a written engagement, by which it was agreed, that we should share the joint profits in equal divisions. We actually did so for a year; but at the end of that time my pupil told me I might return to the country, as he could now do for himself."

"Notwithstanding this provocation, I got Opie introduced to Mrs. Bos. (*perhaps* Bosville), who introduced him to Mrs. Delaney, who introduced him to the king; but his d——d democratic principles spoiled all! Being ignorant how to get on, he disoblged every body.

"A lady wished that her portrait should be 'very handsome,' and expressed an inclination accordingly. 'Then, Madam,' replied the artist, 'you wish to be painted otherwise than you are — I see you do not want your own face!'" The Doctor concluded with asserting, "that during the first year he actually took out writs against several of his *sitters*, who were rather tardy in their payments;" and closed the whole by remarking, "that he was possessed of capacity rather than of genius."

Here follows a short note, received after a dinner-party, where he had been treated with singular attention, by some persons of distinction.

"My dear Sir,

"I beg a thousand pardons for not sending before — inclosed are a few hints for your next production — when shall I see you again? — *O quando ego te aspiciam?*"

"I am truly yours,

"J. W.

"To-morrow my pamphlet comes out, baptised — 'Out at last!' I shall inclose an order for one, if you will take the trouble of sending.

"\_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

"Baker-street, Portman-square."

The protracted existence of the subject of this memoir, notwithstanding his three grand *desiderata*, was not wholly exempt from disease. But from two maladies — asthma and deafness — he not only recovered, but endeavoured to render the skill obtained, by their endurance, beneficial both to others and himself. At length he was assailed by one of those infirmities which are reckoned the most melancholy that can fall to the lot of a mortal; this was blindness, arising from two cataracts. At first it assumed a mild aspect, and only operated as a slight impediment to his lucubrations; but he soon after became, first a *miops*, and then totally dark, notwithstanding an attempt, on the part of Sir William Adams, to couch his right eye. After this he was led about by a young man; and still continued to visit such of his friends as resided in the vicinity of Somers' Town, within the precincts of which he had now taken up his abode.

This unhappy event proved a great hindrance to the diffusion of the productions of his muse — for she still continued to visit him with her inspirations. Yet on great occasions he was accustomed to dictate to an *amanuensis*, and thus to prove that neither age nor blindness was able to deprive him of his poetic excellence.

His body, indeed, seems to have decayed faster than his mind. Being at length confined by habit rather than disease to his house, he seemed to lie in bed, either from indolence or whim. A respectable gentleman, to whom he had been long known, on his arrival from the country, paid a visit to Peter about three months before his death. "What is the matter with you?" observed this friend, "you lie here, apparently from choice, with your face to the wall, and your body enveloped in wool and calico?" — "It signifies but little," was the reply, "in what position a blind man takes his departure: and what should I rise for? It would be folly in me to be groping around my drawing-room; and with what uneasiness would it not be attended, to one now become so weak? When up and in motion, I am obliged to carry a load of eleven or twelve stone; but while here, I have only a few ounces of blankets to support!"



On being asked by another acquaintance at an interview, a very short time before his decease, "What he could bring him, to add to his comfort?" he replied, with a Sardonic smile, "Bring me back my youth!"

On the very next day, January 14, 1789, he breathed his last, at Montgomery's cottage, Somers' Town, where he had resided for many years; having been first attracted thither on account of the surrounding nursery grounds. At the end of a week his corpse, accompanied by a band of chosen friends, whom, we understand, he himself had expressly nominated, was buried in a vault in the church-yard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in a very appropriate position; for it was so contrived, at his own request, that the coffin of the author of the *Lousiad* should be so near as to touch that of the bard who had produced *Hudibras*, whose genius and originality he greatly admired.

Thus died, in the eighty-first year of his age, Dr. John Wolcot, not in poverty and want, as may be supposed by those who are disposed to infer penury from the usual fate of poets, both in ancient and modern times, but in comparative affluence. He was surrounded, indeed, by all the comforts that can render a sick-bed tolerable, and actually left a considerable property behind him, which he disposed by will, among those who were dear to him.

The person of Dr. Wolcot was not calculated to convey any favourable impression; there was nothing prepossessing, either in his countenance or figure. He was what was usually termed a *thick, squat* man; his face was large, dark, and flat, and there "was no speculation in his eye." In respect to manners, too, he was not deemed in general either elegant or agreeable.

It must be allowed, however, that he conversed with ability, on several subjects, more especially when *tête-a-tête* with a friend, and displayed a most humane and beneficent character on a variety of occasions.

But it is from his works, and his works alone, that any lasting fame is to be expected; and yet such is the uncer-

tainty of human praise, that by ceasing to appear so frequently as formerly before the public, and living to a very old age, Peter Pindar had almost survived his reputation!

Of his prose productions nothing has as yet been said. Indeed they were few in number, and not entitled, perhaps, to much celebrity: for, with an exception to his poetical effusions, he always seemed to compose with difficulty, and never, indeed, could express his sentiments with any degree either of facility or neatness. The Doctor, however, some years since, superintended a new edition of Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, to which he made some few additions; and to this he was fully competent. The character of Richard Wilson, the famous landscape painter, was also drawn up by him; and of that artist he was always accustomed to speak with unbounded eulogium.

An attempt shall here be made, by means of what the late Horace Walpole (Earl of Orford) was pleased to term "Reminiscences," to contribute a few facts and anecdotes towards completing the biography of this extraordinary character.

His merits as a poet are well known; but his pretensions as a critic must be familiar only to a few of his associates. In the first character he attacked every rank in life, from the king to the cobbler; but in the second, he flew at high game alone; for, like the eagle, he disdained to stoop to offal.

Accordingly, Dryden,

"The great High Priest of all the Nine,"

was not unfrequently the subject of Peter's severest remarks, and of all his productions, he constantly selected and fixed on "Alexander's Feast; or the Power of Music, an Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," for his keenest animadversions. This, doubtless, proceeded from the consideration, that it was generally supposed to possess more fire, fancy, and genius, than any other of the compositions of that celebrated poet, and had now been consecrated by the uniform applauses of both natives and foreigners for about a century and a half.

After assuming a serious air, and manner, the doctor was accustomed to exclaim, "How wofully have mankind been mistaken in their admiration of this paltry production! In the first place, the subject is immoral, the catastrophe unjust, and the language vulgar and imperfect. Here are a soldier and his *trull*, seated together on a bench, which they call 'an imperial throne.' They are evidently surrounded by pimps and parasites, ready to assent to all their freaks; these ridiculously enough, are denominated 'valiant peers.' And what is the conclusion of all this? exactly what ought to be expected, — a foreign concubine, — an Athenian *woman of the town* in a state of intoxication; — for assuredly there was intoxication of more than one species: — seizes on a burning brand, no matter whether a flambeau or a farthing candle, and seconded by her paramour, and the drunken crew by whom they were accompanied, basely destroys the noble city of Persepolis, to gratify her vile resentments.

"But softly, — let us proceed without passion or prejudice:

'Twas at the royal feast for Persia won  
By Philip's warlike son:

'Twas! how prosaic! here Dryden commences with an *elision*, and that too, of the two poorest and meanest words in our language.

"This appears to have been a feast or banquet, to commemorate a sanguinary triumph over an innocent, feeble, and luxurious nation; and who were the guests, and in what a fantastic manner were they dressed? exactly like our Irish milkmen on a May-day morning:

His valiant peers were plac'd around,  
Their brows with roses and with myrtles bound.

Now for the punk, *who*, at first affects to be a modest matron:

The lovely Thais by his side  
Sat like a blooming Eastern bride;  
In flower of youth, and beauty's pride.

“ Here follows the very edifying burthen of the song

Happy, happy, happy pair !  
None but the brave,  
None but the brave,  
None but the brave, deserve the fair.

“ We now come to the blind fiddler, or rather Welch harper :

Timotheus plac'd on high  
Amid the tuneful quire,  
With flying fingers touch'd the lyre.

“ And what did he sing? Why, that the mother of this mock-hero was as great a strumpet as she who then sat by his side; and that she even lavished her indiscriminate favours on a brute beast, who, as she pretended, was Jupiter Ammon: —

A dragon's fiery form belied the god;  
Sublime on radiant spheres he rode,  
When he to fair Olympia prest,  
And while he sought her snowy breast;  
Then round her slender waist he curl'd,  
And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

And pray what does this soldier do, when he is told that his mother is a ———, himself a bastard, and his pretended father, good-man Philip, a cuckold? Why, he encourages the delusion, and seems to think it a very good joke:

With ravish'd ears,  
The monarch hears;  
Assumes the god,  
Affects to nod,  
And seems to shake the spheres.

“ I told you at first my good friends,” he was accustomed to add, “ that this was a mere *drunken bout* :

The praise of Bacchus, then the sweet musician sung,  
Of Bacchus ever fair, and ever young :

Now give the hautboys breath. He comes! he comes!  
Bacchus! ever fair and young,

Drinking joys did first ordain ;  
 Bacchus' blessings are a treasure ;  
 Drinking is the soldier's pleasure ;  
 Sweet is pleasure after pain.

“ The consequences are exactly such as might have been expected, after all this ribaldry, for the great personage,

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Unable to conceal his pain,  
 Gazed on the fair  
 Who caus'd his care,  
 And sigh'd and look'd, sigh'd and look'd,  
 Sigh'd and look'd, and sigh'd again.  
 At length, with love and wine, at once opprest,  
 The vanquish'd victor sunk upon her breast.

“ Now, is this a king of Macedon and his consort, presiding over a royal banquet in a spacious and noble palace, or is it a Serjeant of the Guards, sitting along with Moll Flanders, at a bear garden ?

“ As to ‘ love and wine,’ this is a mere *poetica licentia*, to endeavour, if possible, to impress dignity ; as for me, I can perceive nothing but lust, gin, and two-penny. ‘ Love and wine,’ generally inspire noble sentiments ; it is the spirit of juniper or the juice of barley alone, that lead to burning, desolation, and murder.

“ And with what bad taste does the whole conclude ? We are told that this beastly scene of low desire, drunkenness, music, and conflagration,

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rais'd a mortal to the skies !

What then, in the name of wonder, would entitle that same mortal to shame, infamy, and punishment ?”

No opinion is here intended to be given, as to the justice or injustice of the criticism. A period of fifteen years may have produced some slight omissions, and even a few trifling variations in this singular *travestie* of one of our first poets ; but in all its essentials it is correctly and fairly given. As it was a frequent theme, indeed, in every company, many living wit-

nesses might be appealed to, for its authenticity and correctness.\*

Happening one day to dine along with a number of literary men, at the house of a very spirited publisher, our host was suddenly called out on some particular business, immediately after the cloth was removed. A long, and awful pause now ensued, at the close of which it was proposed to drink the health of the bookseller, at whose table we were then seated. "No!" exclaimed honest Peter, rising, and, at the same time brandishing a bottle of red Port in his hand; "No! let us drink a bumper to our own, for this is author's blood!" The effect was electric, and his advice was instantly followed amidst shouts of applause.

The Doctor, at no very remote period, determined to dedicate himself to a particular branch of the profession. Accordingly, after rendering himself master of every thing respecting the structure, conformation, and properties of that delicate organ the human ear, he presented himself to his friends and the public as an *aurist*; and yet, it is not a little remarkable, that both at and after this very epoch, he was always considered to be somewhat deaf himself.

What his success may have been, it is not now easy to determine; assuredly not great, else he would not have discontinued the pursuit. The author of this article well recollects, that he complained bitterly of the ungenerous conduct of one patient, who, although he had cured him completely, not only denied it, but still affected to be *thick of hearing*, that he might not pay the stipulated *honorarium*. Peter, by way of trying the effects of his skill, abused, and even called

\* In a note, to the first stanza of the parody of "Frogmore Fete," beginning with

"'Twas at the royal seat on Frogmore Green,  
With Britain's gold, uprear'd by Britain's queen;  
To charm a court, &c.

Peter forcibly alludes to this very subject. "In spite of all the praises bestowed on Alexander's Feast, I dare pronounce it a downright drunken Bartholomew-fair scene: the poetry too but little superior to the *subject*."

him names, in the middle tone of voice usually employed in conversation, which putting the impostor off his guard, he replied, with a degree of bitterness, that at once demonstrated the meanness of his conduct, and the keenness of his newly acquired hearing.

Of medicine in general, he observed, "that he did not like the practice of it as an art. He was entirely ignorant, indeed, whether the patient was cured by the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, or the administration of a little pill, which was either directly or indirectly to reach the part affected." The Doctor had conceived a new and ingenious theory of topical diseases, among which he included rheumatism, aches, pains, &c. He considered "the joints as blocks, the nerves as ropes, and the whole system, as a ship full-rigged: in fine weather all was lax, loose, and agreeable — in wet, every thing being tight and uncomfortable, disease was superinduced; — this, on the other hand, was alleviated by warmth, or in other words, by relaxation, which restored the body to its original tone." In short, he was a great friend to warmth and a great enemy to cold. Above all things he dreaded *wet feet*. Much too depended on diet. He considered food as the conductor of disease, and maintained that the poor were far more liable to maladies than the rich.

The subject of this memoir, while he excelled in poetry of two different and distinct kinds, possessed a fine taste for the kindred studies of sculpture and painting. Accordingly, both in town and country, he cultivated the friendship and society of artists; while in London, he frequently spent the whole forenoon in visiting their workshops. He contemplated with delight the bust, just emerging from the block, and the picture, when first starting into life on the easel! Their progress was surveyed by him with the most patient attention; he hailed the dawn of genius in a young artist, with rapture; while he beheld the master touches of an experienced pencil with enthusiasm. Whatever bore the stamp of merit, received due praise; and he might have fairly exclaimed, with a great man of a former age, "I also am a painter!"

Dr. Wolcot was much addicted to music in general; but he delighted most in the Italian school. Speaking one evening on this subject, a gentleman addressed him as follows: "I think, Sir, the Germans excel, at least in execution!" "Yes, Sir," was the reply, "they *execute* every thing — they strangle melody!"

Happening one day, when *politics* ran high, and a great ferment prevailed in the nation, and indeed throughout Europe, to speak on the subject of government, he "considered absolute monarchy as a solecism in politics, and was astonished that four — kings and a queen (whom he mentioned by name) should be permitted, at that very moment, to govern thirty or forty millions of subjects!" It is but justice to observe, however, that he was a great admirer of a constitution duly balanced like that of England, and accustomed frequently to praise its excellence! Nay, although no one had been formerly more eager to break a joke on a palace, yet he actually died one of the most loyal men in the kingdom.

Peter was accustomed to speak of the friendship exhibited towards him by a celebrated Polish patriot, with an honest pride.

Here follows his account of their first acquaintance, from a paper in his own hand-writing. "When the famous General Kosciusko came to England, he sent his compliments to me from Sabloniere's Hotel, in Leicester-Fields, the place of his abode. After apologising at not being able to wait on me, on account of weakness, arising from his wounds, he hoped I would call on him, which I immediately did. In the course of our interview, he said that he could not visit England without seeing an author, who had given him so much pleasure, particularly in his prison at St. Petersburg. I constantly visited him, and, at parting, I gave him a couple of my crayon landscapes, and he in return, presented me with a drawing by himself, as well as some of his choicest wines and liqueurs. On his arrival from England in America, I composed a little ode in honour of him."



Our author was not insensible to fame; indeed he was accustomed to mention a number of circumstances, all tending to prove in what high degree of estimation his writings, which had been translated into six different languages, were held, both abroad and at home.

We shall here insert the following little anecdote, which is in his own hand writing.

“When the Duke of Kent was last in America, he took a stroll into the country, and entering a neat little cottage, saw a pretty girl with a book in her hand; ‘what books do you read, my dear?’ said his royal highness. The girl with the most artless innocence replied ‘Sir, the Bible and Peter Pindar.’”

Dr. Wolcot, at an early period, discovered a strong attachment to theatrical entertainments. This, of course, was connected with a liking for actors and actresses, and he once had an opportunity of both evincing and illustrating this partiality; for when an itinerant company was driven by legal violence from Kingsbridge, in Devonshire, he kindly interposed, and afforded it an asylum within his own premises in the neighbouring parish of Dodbrooke. This gave birth to an “Ode to my Barn,” which appears to have been the receptacle in which the comedians took refuge from the joint prosecution of the justices, churchwardens, and overseers.

Sweet haunt of solitude and rats,

Mice, tuneful owls, and purring cats,

Who, while we mortals sleep, the gloom pervade;

And wish not for the Sun's all-seeing eye,

Their mousing mysteries to espy;

Blest, like philosophers, amidst the shade!

When Persecution, with an iron hand,

Dared drive the moral-menders from the land,

Call'd Players — friendly to the wandering crew,

Thine eye with tears survey'd the mighty wrong,

Thine open arms receiv'd the mournful throng,

Kings without shirts, and queens with half a shoe.

Alas ! what dangers gloom'd of late around !  
 Monarchs and queens, with halters nearly bound ;  
 Duke, dukeling, princess, prince, consign'd to jail :  
 And, what the very soul of pity shocks,  
 The poor old Lear was threaten'd with the stocks,  
 Cordelia, with the cart's unfeeling tail.

Peter Pindar was a bachelor : indeed, he appears to have entertained a decided objection to matrimony, in his old age at least. He candidly allowed, however, that he was formerly of a different opinion ; for he had more than once experienced a *refusal* ! This, indeed, he was not at all unwilling to avow, either in prose or rhyme\*, in conversation or in an ode.

It is not a little singular, too, that although he entertained an unfavourable opinion of the human race as a body, yet he would have been content to have lived on almost any conditions. He was accordingly accustomed to observe, " that he had no objection to renew his lease ; nay, to extend it to all eternity ! "

To his friends, Dr. Wolcot was kind and beneficent ; to those he deemed his enemies, splenetic, harsh, and unforgiving. Although not at all delicate about exposing others to the lash of his satire, yet it is no less singular than true that he deemed himself exempt from animadversion, and almost from retaliation. He was grievously offended with the author of the " *Baviad* " and the " *Mæviad*," on account of the outrageous liberties taken with him in these productions, and actually attempted to inflict personal chastisement on the gentleman in question, at a bookseller's shop in Piccadilly. Failing in this, he had recourse to other weapons of a still more deadly kind ; and, actuated by resentment, accused his opponent of offences, which it would be ungenerous to conceal, appear to have had no foundation but in poetic vengeance.

\* That I have often been in love, deep love,  
 A hundred doleful ditties plainly prove.  
 By marriage never have I been disjointed ;  
 For matrimony deals prodigious blows :  
 And yet, for this same stormy state, God knows,  
 I've groan'd, and, thank my stars, been disappointed.

Peter, as has been already observed, was in no small degree attached to the female sex, and had been a great admirer of beauty while able to contemplate it. In his old age, and at a period too when he had passed his grand climacteric, and indeed become a septuagenarian, he was obliged to defend a suit for *crim. con.*, in which he was fortunate enough to defeat his adversary. And here it is but just to remark, that this accusation is said to have originated in an attempt on his purse.

That his satire was by far too indiscriminate and too severe, cannot be denied. He has been much blamed for his frequent, indelicate, and vituperative attacks on His Majesty. It should be recollected, however, on the other hand, that he became mute, on this subject, the moment the sovereign was visited by mental affliction. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that Mr. Bone, the famous painter in enamel, was brought up under his fostering wing; that Opie was chiefly indebted for fortune and celebrity to his patronage; and that it was not his fault if a third artist did not profit by his instructions and attachment.

There is an excellent portrait of Dr. Wolcot, by Opie, in which both manner and likeness are admirably preserved. He is also depicted as one of the assassins, in the picture representing the death of David Rizzio; and, by a strange whim, was actually introduced in this horrible character, by the above artist, at his own particular request.

By way of conclusion, we shall here present the reader with some account of the works of the subject of the present memoir.

The labours of Peter Pindar form a new epoch in the history of English poetry: they possess many excellencies, and many defects. His satire has been objected to as temporary; but this equally applies to the productions of Juvenal and of Churchill. Works of this kind must necessarily borrow the hue and complexion of the age in which they were composed; and if the indiscriminate and unsparing nature of his lampoons, which are occasionally levelled against some of the best men and *ablest*

artists of the present age, can be forgiven, this fault will require but little apology.

In 1812, all the poetical effusions of this extraordinary bard were collected, and published in 5 volumes, 8vo.; to which was prefixed a short life, entitled "Memoirs of the Author." Vol. 1. contains twelve articles, viz.: — "Epistle to the Reviewers;" "Lyric Odes for 1783, 1785, and 1786;" "The Lousiad;" "Epistle to James Boswell, Esq.;" "Bozzy and Piozzi;" "Ode upon Ode;" "Apologetic Postscript;" "Instructions to a celebrated Laureat;" and, "Brother Peter to Brother Tom." In his Odes to the Royal Academicians, Peter criticises some of Sir Joshua's performances with much freedom; but he still allows, that in comparison to any other painter, he is like "an eagle to a raven." To Mr. West, he does not do common justice. The following lines have been condemned by some, as approaching to blasphemy; they must, at least, be allowed to be highly irreverent and improper: —

O West, what hath thy pencil done?

Why painted —————

Like an old-clothes-man about London street!

Place in his hand a rusty bag,

To hold each sweet collected rag,

We then shall see the character *complete*.

Th' Apostles, too, I'm much afraid,

Were not the fellows thou hast made;

For Heaven's sake, West, pray rub them out again: —

Although they might not look like *gentlemen*, it is but justice to observe, that the reputation of Mr. West has outlived this satire, and he is now deservedly esteemed at the head of his profession.

As Peter had before censured the *un-hair-like* mane, and *wooden* carcass, of "Tarleton's horse," so he now condemns the portraits of "Saint Leger and Prince," just then produced by Gainsborough; while he satirically praises his Pig, which he terms, "a well-painted sow," at the expense of its female

attendant," and advises him to keep to landscape. He, at the same time, tells Chamberlin, that when men are formed out of "board," his pictures shall be "tolerable nature: —

" And Loutherbouurg, when Heaven wills  
To make *brass* skies and *golden* hills,  
With *marble* bullocks in *glass* pastures grazing;  
Thy reputation too will rise,  
And people gaping with surprise,  
Cry, ' Monsieur Loutherbouurg is most amazing !'

But thou must wait for that event,  
Perhaps the change is never meant;  
Till then with me thy pencil will not shine;  
Till then, old red-nos'd Wilson's art  
Will hold its empire o'er my heart,  
By Britain left in poverty to pine.

But, honest Wilson, never mind;  
Immortal praises thou shalt find,  
And for a dinner have no cause to fear. —  
Thou start'st at my prophetic rhymes;  
Don't be impatient for those times;  
Wait till thou hast been dead a hundred year."

The Lousiad, an Heroic-comic Poem, begins thus :

" The Louse I sing, who from some head unknown,  
Yet born and educated near a throne,  
Dropp'd down, (so will'd the dread decree of fate,)  
With legs wide sprawling on the Monarch's plate :  
Far from the raptures of a wife's embrace ;  
Far from the gambols of a tender race,  
Whose little feet he taught with care to tread  
Amidst the wide dominions of the head ;  
Led them to daily food with fond delight,  
And taught the tiny wanderers where to bite ;  
To hide, to run, advance, or turn their tails  
When hostile combs attack'd, or vengeful nails :  
Far from those pleasing scenes ordain'd to roam,  
Like wise Ulysses from his native home ;  
Yet, like that sage, though forc'd to roam and mourn,  
Like him, alas ! not fated to return ;

Who, full of rage, and glory, saw his boy \*  
 And wife † again, and dog ‡ that died for joy.  
 Down dropp'd the luckless Louse with fear appall'd,  
 And wept his wife and children as he sprawl'd.  
 Thus on a promontory's misty brow,  
 The poet's eye with sorrow saw a cow  
 Take leave abrupt of bullocks, goats, and sheep,  
 By tumbling headlong down the dizzy steep,  
 No more to reign a queen among the cattle,  
 And urge her rival beaus, the bulls, to battle;  
 She fell, remembering ev'ry roaring lover, §  
 With all her wild *courants* in fields of clover."

There can be no doubt as to the excellence of this composition, although not a few have affected to charge the author with indelicacy, as to the subject, and others with something approaching to disloyalty, in regard to the great personage connected with the story, and so frequently introduced in the course of this little poem.

The whole is said to have originated in the discovery of a very obnoxious insect on the royal plate among some green pease, the first that had been produced that season. This offensive object produced a solemn decree, which occasioned great murmurings; but as George III. was absolute in his kitchen, although not in his kingdom, it was carried into effect with unrelenting severity. All the cooks, assistants, scullions, and attendants, of whatsoever rank in the royal kitchen, accordingly had their heads shaved, one only excepted, who was obliged to retire, and were accustomed, while on duty, ever after to wear white night-caps!

It was supposed that Peter, in respect to the title of his work, had made use of the *poetica licentia*; but it will be seen by the following passage under his own signature, dated January 21, 1799, that he was literally correct: "The story of the *Louse* is a fact — it was a Louse; but whether a garden or a body louse was never ascertained. — I had this from the cooks themselves, with whom I dined several times at Buck-

\* Telemachus.

† Penelope.

‡ Argus.

§ *Moriens dulces reminiscitur Argos.* — VIRGIL.

ingham House and Windsor, immediately after the *shave* took place."

"It was agitated in the Privy Council," observes he in another private letter, "to attack me for my writings, particularly the *Lousiad*. But on its being discovered that the poem had its foundation in truth, all idea of prosecution was extinguished. 'Are you sure of a verdict?' said a lord high in the law (the Chancellor Thurlow); if not so, by —— we shall look like a parcel of fools!"

The *denouement* in Canto V. is preceded by an eloquent speech from "the son of Nit," who boasts his high descent, and apologises for the royal cooks.

'Lies! lies! lies! lies!' replied the furious king,  
'Tis no such thing: no, no, 'tis no such thing.'  
Then quick he aim'd, of red-hot anger full,  
His nails of vengeance at the louse's skull.  
But Zephyr, anxious for his life, drew near,  
And sudden bore him to a distant sphere;  
In triumph rais'd the animal on high,  
Where Berenice's locks adorn the sky.  
But now he wish'd him *nobler* fame to share,  
And crawl for ever on Belinda's hair.  
Yet to the Louse was *greater* glory given;  
To roll a planet on the splendid heaven,  
And draw of deep astronomers the ken,  
The *Georgium Sidus* of the sons of men.

The fate of the poor cooks was very different from that of the illustrious stranger; for it appears that fifty-one belonging to that department were all *shaved*; and that a young man, named John Bear, lost his place, in consequence of his refusal to submit to the operation.

The publication of the celebrated *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, about this period, afforded ample opportunity for the satire of Peter Pindar, which was vented in "a Poetical Epistle" to a celebrated Biographer of that day.

O Boswell, Bozzy, Bruce\*, whate'er thy name,  
Thou mighty shark for anecdote and fame;

\* Vide note, p. 16. of his "*Journal*."

Thou Jackall, leading Lion Johnson forth  
 To eat Macpherson, 'midst his native North ;  
 To frighten grave Professors with his roar,  
 And shake the Hebrides from shore to shore,  
 All hail ! ———

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Triumphant, thou, through Time's vast gulph shalt sail,  
 The pilot of our literary Whale ;  
 Close to the classic Rambler shall thou cling,  
 Close as a supple courtier to a king ;  
 Fate shall not shake thee off with all its power ;  
 Stuck like a bat to some old ivied tower.  
 Nay, though thy Johnson ne'er had bless'd thy eyes,  
 Paoli's deeds had rais'd thee to the skies :  
 Yes, his broad wing had rais'd thee (no bad hack),  
 A Tom-tit twittering on an Eagle's back."

In his "Bozzy and Piozzy," written soon after the death of the great lexicographer, he again attacked this same gentleman with still more severity, if possible, than before.

The second volume contains "Peter's Pension," and his Ode to Mr. Paine; the latter of which seemed to entitle him to one, had it not been either preceded or followed soon after by an "Epistle to a falling Minister:"

Blind to an artful Boy's insidious wiles,  
 Why rests the genius of the Queen of Isles ?  
 While Liberty in irons sounds th' alarm,  
 Why hangs suspense on virtue's coward arm ?  
 While tyranny prepares her gaols and thongs,  
 Why sleeps the sword of justice o'er our wrongs ?  
 Oh ! meanly founding on a father's name, &c.

"Sir Joseph," too, is characterised for his attachment to a minute branch of natural history.

A President in butterflies profound  
 Of whom all insect-mongers sing the praises,  
 Went on a day to catch the game renown'd  
 On violets, dunghills, violet-tops, and daisies, &c.

For the epistle "to the Earl of Lonsdale," we believe, a



prosecution \* was either commenced, or threatened. Some verses relative to this subject, with an address to "Lord Macartney and his Ship," and "Odes to Kien Long," form the two prominent articles of the third volume. The fourth opens with "Pindariana, or Peter's Portfolio," containing fable, translation, elegy, song, &c. Some transitory and floating subjects, such as "Lord Auckland's Triumph, the Middlesex Elections, Pitt and his Statue," occupy the greater part of the remainder. The "Tales of the Hoy," were extremely popular, for a time: but like his "Tears and Smiles," his Epistle to Count Rumford," "Great Cry and Little Wool;" "The Horrors of Bribery;" all of which are included in the last volume, seem to have experienced a precocious oblivion!

Dr. Wolcot was actually unacquainted with the number and extent of his own productions. Many unpublished poems are in possession of his friends, and whole bundles of manuscripts have been confided to the care of his executor!

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE MEMOIR OF

DR. WOLCOT, OLIM *PETER PINDAR*, Esq.

The following memoir may be considered as having less pretensions to novelty than truth. On commencing author by profession, no man, perhaps, ever acquired more sudden celebrity than Dr. Wolcot; nor, during a space of near forty years, was popularity ever retained with less diminution. Although at an early period he manifested his affection for the Muses, he did not offer himself to public notice until his judgment was matured, and his mind stored with knowledge.

\* This suit, which was happily concluded by means of a compromise, is alluded to by the Bard himself, in the Ode beginning with

Fie, fie, my Lord! attack a saint-like poet,  
Oh let not Askelon nor let Gath know it!

What! by Law Bull-dogs bid the Lambkin groan?

O Lonsdale! *genuine* Poetry is rare,  
Half of our verse adulterated ware,

I speak of other verses, not my own.

John Wolcot, the son of Alexander and Mary, was born on a small freehold of his father's, at Dodbrook, in Devonshire, a town and parish so connected with Kingsbridge as to have the appearance of a suburb. The precise day of his birth is uncertain; it is, however, known to have been but a short time previous to his baptism, which, as already mentioned, took place at Dodbrook church, on the 9th May, 1738. His native place having been minutely described by an elegant poet and historian, Abraham Hawkins, Esq., in a History of Kingsbridge and its Environs, an extract may not here prove uninteresting.

“In descending the Estuary (generally denominated Kingsbridge River, although nothing superior to the degree of a mill-stream falls into any part), on the east shore a smart little mansion, with a white front, on a gentle, verdant, declivity, extending to the water's edge at the flow of the tide, opens to view. It is Pindar-lodge, formerly the property of the distinguished bard, whose poetic name, in compliment, it now bears, and where his respected ancestors for many generations resided

— avi numeratur avorum.

“The celebrated lyric and satirical poet, generally known by the name of Peter Pindar, Esq. first drew his breath within the precincts of these premises. He received his education under a gentleman of the name of Morris, a good classical scholar, beloved and respected through life by all his pupils and neighbours for sound learning, great worth, and unassuming manners. Many of the early strokes of humour and smart repartees of the facetious author of the *Lousiad* are still recollected by a few of the companions of his school-hours, who yet survive in Kingsbridge and its vicinity.”

The father of Wolcot was a medical practitioner of great respectability, as were several of his ancestors. The subject of this memoir was the fourth child, and only son who attained to manhood; he had two sisters younger than himself,

the eldest of whom married a Mr. Stephens, also a surgeon. He died many years since, and his widow settled with her sister at Fowey, where they continued to reside, and preserved a regular correspondence with their brother till the death of Mrs. Stephens, which happened about a year before the doctor's. The survivor, a maiden lady, has now to lament the double loss of two relatives, between whom and herself the strongest affection subsisted.

About the age of eleven, it was young Wolcot's misfortune to lose his father. His tuition was soon after transferred from Mr. Morris to the Reverend Mr. Fisher, master of a grammar school at Bodmin, under whom he completed his classical education. With what attention he pursued his scholastic studies is unknown. He was accustomed, however, to describe himself as having been a dull scholar, and to consider that for the learning he possessed he was more indebted to the unremitted attention of his masters, whom he always mentioned with respect, than to his own inclination or assiduity. His propensity and superior abilities for composing verses were known, and confessed by his school competitors. The senior boys were occasionally required to translate their Latin themes into English verse, a species of exercise in which Wolcot was so generally allowed to excel, that some of his companions gladly availed themselves of his assistance: this he willingly gave on condition that he might retain the copy he most approved. The following is an anecdote he was accustomed to relate of himself: by the desire of two fellow students he wrote their themes as he considered tolerably well, but intentionally rather worse than his own, to which he designed to impart more loftiness and dignity. Confident of a favourable result, at the hour of examination he presented his verses, but not only endured the mortification of hearing his rivals commended for what he had written, but his own were considered such pompous nonsense that, instead of gaining the applause anticipated, he received a flagellation.

On leaving school, young Wolcot was removed to Fowey, a borough and sea-port on the coast of Cornwall, where he

had an uncle likewise of the medical profession, in good practice and high repute. This gentleman, desirous that his nephew should add to his other acquirements a knowledge of the French tongue, sent him to France, where he resided a year or more, and fully attained the object of his journey. He then returned to his uncle, whose pupil he became for the space of seven years. During this period he is said to have applied himself to his professional studies with commendable diligence, and to have imbibed every information in his power, deducible from books and practice. He also sought opportunities to gratify his naturally fervent passion for the *Belles Lettres* and fine arts, and availed himself of every occasion to peruse any works in the least connected with those subjects. His love for the Muses, however, was regarded with extreme jealousy, not only by his uncle, but also by two paternal aunts, who, although women of strong understandings, and literary acquirements, considered that the study of medicine would contribute more to his advantage, and under this idea uniformly discouraged his favourite pursuits. At the expiration of his apprenticeship he came to London, for the purpose of passing through the usual hospital routine, and having, under the ablest professors, completed his medical studies, he returned to Fowey, and continued in successful practice until his departure for the West Indies.

On the promotion of his friend, Sir William Trelawney, to the government of Jamaica, Wolcot expressed a desire to accompany him as his physician, which was readily complied with; but previously to receiving the appointment, he underwent a strict and even severe examination by the celebrated Dr. Huxham, of Plymouth, at whose recommendation he received, in September, 1767, the degree of M.D. from the University of Aberdeen. Thus qualified, he embarked with his excellency and his suite, and on his arrival at Jamaica was appointed physician-general to the island; a nomination said to convey greater honour than profit. Soon after this, he transferred his views from physic to divinity. The incumbent of a valuable living being dangerously ill, Sir William con-

ceived that he could more effectually promote his friend's interest in the church; he, therefore, advised his return to England to obtain orders, and for that purpose sent him to the Bishop of London. The doctor accordingly waited on that prelate, and having obtained ordination, speedily returned to the West Indies. But on his arrival he found that the rector was not merely alive but in improved health, while in his patron he discerned symptoms of approaching dissolution. Wolcot's disappointment, however, was somewhat alleviated by receiving the inferior living of Vere, in which he was allowed to place a curate; that he might continue his residence in the Government-house at Spanish-Town. By this arrangement the Governor both served his friend and secured to himself the society of a man who, to a very social disposition, united that wit, vivacity, and instruction, which ever rendered him the delight of his associates. Here he remained in the full enjoyment of every pleasure the island afforded until his Excellency's demise, a catastrophe that at once annihilated all his prospects of preferment in the West Indies. He had now but little inducement or desire to remain abroad, and being requested by Lady Trelawney, he accompanied her to England, where, soon after their arrival, she also died. The premature conclusion of the doctor's foreign expectations makes it probable that, from his travels he derived little pecuniary benefit. But he certainly enjoyed the advantage of viewing nature in her more varied scenes, which, to an eye like his, vigilant and penetrating, must have proved of inestimable value. And from this arose some of his most pleasing poems, enriched with conceptions to which his mind might otherwise have ever remained insensible.

Dr. Wolcot immediately retired to Cornwall and, his uncle being dead, established himself as a physician at Truro. In professional success, whether we contemplate his abilities or emoluments, he excelled all his predecessors in that county. At the same time he multiplied his friendships; but from the quickness with which he discerned human weaknesses, and an

unconquerable proneness to pourtray them in colours of ridicule, he was involved in many disputes which prevented his obtaining that general esteem and admiration which his talents, if otherwise employed, would have infallibly secured. Of his provincial satires, but little is now known; they were generally personal, but, on the whole, better calculated to excite laughter than resentment.

During the Doctor's residence at Truro, a celebrated composer, Mr. W. Jackson of Exeter, set some of his most delightful songs to music, with his accustomed taste and feeling. The combined excellencies of the music and poetry attracted observation, and were deservedly admired. About this period also, the poet met with that surprising artist, John Opie, the son of a little carpenter, who, but for Wolcot's discernment and friendship would probably have never emerged from his native obscurity.

“ Full many a gem of purest ray serene  
The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear,  
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its sweetness in the desert air.”

GRAY.

Dr. Wolcot, at length, removed to Helstone, about seventeen miles towards the lands-end, where he resumed his professional career. After an occasional contribution to periodical works for near twenty years, he now determined on trying the strength of his talents by the publication of some poems, the success of which should entirely depend on their merit. He first revealed his intentions by producing, in 1778, “A poetical, supplicating, modest, and affecting Epistle to those Literary Colossuses, the Reviewers,” which the “Fathers of Wisdom” noticed with respect, forgiving his satire for the sake of his wit. About the same period, he also published a poem entitled “The Noble Cricketers, a poetical and familiar Epistle addressed to two of the idlest Lords in His Majesty's three Kingdoms.” This was treated with less lenity by the critics, and, as it was never included in any of the editions of

his works, it may be presumed that he considered it would not add greatly to his fame.

The young man, whom he had patronised, having realised his most sanguine expectations, in 1780, or the spring of the following year, he quitted Cornwall and his practice, for the purpose of introducing the artist to the notice of the London connoisseurs. The poet and painter having arrived at the grand emporium of genius, each soon obtained an eminent degree of distinction. Opie had previously acquired reputation as an itinerant pourtrait painter, and had therefore only to perfect himself in an art for which nature had given him a strong predilection. His talents and strength of mind, aided by indefatigable exertion, shortly placed him in that exalted rank to which his works so justly entitle him. Wolcot, alive to every thing ludicrous, determined on being a satirist, and for a pursuit so congenial with his inclination, discerned in the metropolis exhaustless resources. He therefore bid a final adieu to both physic and divinity.

His attention was at first naturally directed to the fine arts, and he conceived the novel design of writing poetical criticisms on the annual exhibition which was then rising into celebrity. Our bard accordingly commenced with a series of poems entitled "Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians, for 1782, by Peter Pindar, Esq. a distant relation of the poet of Thebes, and Laureat to the Academy." The highly flattering reception with which these compositions were honoured, encouraged him to pursue his design, and the next year he wrote some "More Lyric Odes," which considerably enhanced his reputation. During the succeeding exhibition his muse was suffered to slumber, but in 1785 made ample reparation for her somnolency by producing no less than twenty-three odes, one of which was addressed to His Majesty with that uncourtly freedom which characterises most of his subsequent writings. The following year produced his "Farewell Odes," in which he took an affectionate leave of the academic gentlemen. He now commenced a mock heroic poem, entitled the "Lousiad:" many of the *dramatis personæ*, although caricatured, wer-

probably drawn from nature, as he actually visited the royal kitchen *incog*. Although a determined enemy to excess of ministerial influence, and ever fond of exposing the follies of the great, Peter was a sincere admirer of monarchical government and the noble institutions of his country. A suspicion which prevailed, that he entertained democratical principles was supposed to have influenced him in his attack on the celebrated Tom Paine.

His popularity, and the fertility of his muse soon placed him in the road to fame and fortune. In 1792, if not earlier, the produce of his literary labours enabled him to effect a considerable purchase in the funds, notwithstanding his constant intercourse with the gay and fashionable world, and the unlimited expenses of such society. The love of pleasure, which, in him, was ever predominant, now reigned with little restriction; but irregular living, could not be long supported without its usual baneful effects, and he was accordingly visited by a violent asthma, which threatened a speedy dissolution. The probability of this, strange as it may appear, enlarged his income and contributed to the ease of his declining years. His fame and the partiality the public had shown for his works, made his booksellers desirous of securing the copyright. This the doctor was disposed to transfer, and would willingly have sold for four or five hundred pounds; but under *existing circumstances*, the purchasers preferred granting him an annuity, and accordingly, offered 250*l.* for life, stipulating that, in addition to the copyright, they should have the refusal of certain descriptions of his future compositions, a proposal to which the doctor ultimately acceded. This event, so important to his finances, occurred in 1793. In the course of the following year, he took chambers in the Middle Temple, and, shortly after, visited Devonshire to try if he could obtain relief from the salubrity of his native air, an experiment that was attended with the most happy effects. On returning, his renovated health surprised his publishers, who had reasonably anticipated his journey "to that undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveller returns." A suit at common law, followed by



a bill in Chancery, ensued ; in both of which Peter proved victorious. The transaction altogether affords a singular and striking example of the uncertainty of human calculations, for the whole of the original purchasers quitted this mortal scene before the doctor on whose death they had so confidently speculated.

Having now resolved to fix his abode in London, our poet disposed of his family freehold at Dodbrook. As this circumstance is correctly related in a recent publication\*, a short extract may be acceptable. "He, (Dr. W.,) always evinced an inherent love of his native spot, and at one period thought so seriously of building thereon, that he went so far as to have a plan, and estimate of the expense. By his own direction, the house was to consist of nine rooms, which drew from a friend the remark, that it was just one for each of the muses, and that the place ought to bear the name which has since been conferred upon it, by the present owner. A few years, however, so entirely changed his intentions, that not only he abandoned the design of building, but, in 1795, disposed of the fee-simple to the late Reverend Nathaniel Wells, the husband of the lady who now possesses it, who took down most of the old fabric, and laid the foundation of the present mansion, which was ultimately finished by her, after her husband's death."

To Dr. Wolcot's talents for the fine arts, allusion has been already made, but the specimens of his abilities were, hitherto, to be found only in the cabinets of his private friends. In 1797, he appeared as a candidate for public patronage, both as a poet and painter. Having had a series of his landscapes engraved in aqua-tinta by Alken, they were published with poetical allusions, under the appellation of "Picturesque Views." The principal productions of his pencil are executed in crayon, and, like most of his poems, have the strongest claims to originality. Though without pretensions to finishing, or the minutiae of the art, they must be regarded as vivid representations of nature. He appears, indeed, to have only aimed at producing grandeur of effect, in which he happily succeeded by judicious and forcible contrasts.

\* History of Kingsbridge.

We purposely pass over the unfortunate dispute with Mr. W. Gifford in 1800, and the trial for *crim. con.* in 1807, which have been alluded to in another place.

In the latter part of his life, the doctor's literary pursuits were considerably impeded by the appearance of cataracts in both his eyes, which, though they did not wholly exclude light, prevented his reading, and so deprived him of one of his greatest pleasures. He had recourse to an amanuensis, in whose absence, however, he continued to write himself, till within a short period of his death. His method was to tear a sheet of paper into quarters, on each of which he wrote a stanza of four or six lines, according to the nature of the poem, the paper he placed on a book held in the left hand, and, in this manner, not only wrote legibly, but with great ease and celerity.

In 1810, the subject of this memoir experienced a serious disaster, and narrowly escaped an untimely end. One of his servant's clothes took fire while in the room with him, of which accident he was not aware till apprised by her screams; she ran to the window, and was seen by a person passing in the street, who immediately alarmed the house. In the mean time, the doctor rendered such assistance as he was able, but before the fire could be subdued "poor Nell" was so much scorched as to occasion her death. His own hands were dreadfully burnt in attempting to extinguish the flames, and had his gown been of linen instead of woollen texture, he must have shared the unhappy fate of his attendant. At the time of this catastrophe he resided in Howland-Street, Tottenham-Court-Road; but soon after removed to Somers-Town.

As the infirmities of age grew upon him, Dr. Wolcot became more and more desirous to withdraw from the fashionable and busy world. Notwithstanding his former fondness for society, he now rarely went out, and had but little desire for company. The private reason he assigned for declining dinner invitations was "to avoid the danger of loading his stomach with more than nature required." In his retirement he observed that regularity and abstemiousness which every

man, who duly appreciates the value of life, finds indispensable. He continued, however, to be visited by persons of the highest rank and talents, and though glad to see or hear of his friends, he was most pleased with short visits, and seldom *at home* to idle intruders.

Dr. Wolcot's habits, though regular, were rather peculiar; for he seldom retired to rest before midnight, and rarely rose until afternoon. He first amused himself with his violins, or, as well as his sight would permit, in examining his crayons and pictures. Of the latter he had a small but choice collection, which included a few by Wilson, his favourite master in the landscape department. The greatest portion of his time, however, was devoted to his Muse; and such was the industry and fertility of his imagination, that he has left manuscripts nearly equal, in quantity, to his published works.

Thus, after moving for years in the gayest circles, Peter Pindar contentedly retired from pleasures he was no longer able to enjoy; and by his intellectual resources afforded a striking example of the benefits attending a cultivated understanding, when its possessor is overtaken by bodily infirmities. He constantly advised young people to furnish their minds with knowledge, and pointedly observed, that by so doing they created a bank from which they might draw in old age, and secure an enjoyment independent of the fickleness of friendship. His own security, however, was sometimes discomposed by an irritable disposition and great distrust. The former he endeavoured to controul, as he conceived a disturbed mind the primary cause of most maladies, and was, therefore, desirous to preserve his own in a tranquil state: with regard to the latter, his intercourse with the world had been very considerable during a long and chequered existence; he had associated with all classes, and when he coolly reflected on the sordid views by which human pursuits are usually guided, he conceived of mankind in general a most unfavourable opinion. It must be admitted that he frequently laboured under strong prejudices, and after his sentiments were once formed they were rarely known to change. He was not, however, so far

opiniative as to think meanly of another's judgment, because differing from his, but rather wished every one should retain his own persuasion, and readily acknowledged his own fallibility.

A desire to recover his lost sight, strengthened by the advice of some friends, induced our bard, in 1814, to undergo the operation of couching. Sir William Adams was consulted, and from the favourable opinion he expressed of the probability of success, he was allowed to operate on the right eye, in which vision was most obscured. But the experiment completely failed, and the eye became totally dark; the doctor was, therefore, deterred from undergoing a second operation. He now became more abstracted, and wholly discontinued to visit; but received a few friends at home, who were entertained with his former wit and vivacity; an increasing deafness, however, rendered much conversation fatiguing.

His interest in politics was unabated, and as he continued to write, he occasionally gratified the public with a new poem. Excepting fugitive pieces, his last work was an "Epistle to the Emperor of China," occasioned by the uncourtly reception Lord Amherst experienced in his late disastrous embassy. Various poetasters having endeavoured to impose on the public by assuming his popular signature, it was deemed expedient to affix his real as well as poetical name. But this precaution was necessary only so far as to guard against purchasing the impostors' publications, as Peter's readers could soon discover his original style and humour in the ironical strain with which the author eulogises the modern mania for Chinese frivolity.

During the excessive heat which occurred in August, 1818, the doctor took to his bed, which he never expected to leave; he felt his strength decaying, and became resigned to the dispensations of Providence. Having determined on the disposal of his property, he dictated a short will, in which he directed his musical instruments, (excepting a piano forte) pictures, prints, crayon drawings, and two folio copies of Shakspeare, to be sold. He bequeathed a few pecuniary legacies to friends, and his furniture, piano forte, and 110*l.* to one

servant, and 50*l.* to the other. \* Such was the nicety of his honour with regard to the just settlement of his debts, that he desired a sum of five pounds, formerly borrowed, might be repaid, if, on enquiry, it should appear to be still owing. He also directed an old picture by Ruysdale, then in his possession, but not his property, to be returned to the owner; and left instructions for 50*l.* to be paid each of his executors. The residue he intended for his sister, whom, as the only surviving relative of near affinity, he considered the most equitable inheritor. During the months of October and November he considerably recovered, and at intervals his manuscripts were brought to his bed-side, and cursorily examined, when he directed several, which he intended should never meet the public eye, to be destroyed. In December he grew much weaker, and, having become quite helpless, he with calmness and resignation patiently waited for that event he had so much reason to expect. Notwithstanding he had himself been a successful practitioner, he had little faith in medicine. The day preceding his death he took, as he considered, a final farewell of some friends, and the next morning, Thursday, the 14th January, 1819, expired about ten o'clock, with such perfect ease, that his attendants knew not the exact moment.

Thus closed the long and eccentric career of one of the most original poets England has produced. Many of his poems evince a sound and cultivated understanding, profound knowledge of the world, combined with a consummate and keen penetration into the human heart. He possessed great command of language; a strong and luminous mind, enriched by study, and replete with images drawn from nature. His ideas were exuberant, original, and ingenious; and though more frequently ludicrous than sublime, his reflections and conclusions will generally be found true.

\* The two executors nominated by Dr. Wolcot were, John Taylor, Esq. and Mr. Francies, colourman in Long Acre. The former having declined acting; on the latter, who, we believe, is residuary legatee, has of course devolved the sole and entire management of the personal estate of the testator. Mr. Taylor attended him almost to his last moments, and probably heard his last words. — *Ed.*

Although his wit was often tainted with vulgarity, he rarely offended the ears of the fair sex, in whose society he was careful to observe the strict bounds of propriety. He always professed himself their warm admirer, and by his affability and politeness gained an unusual share of their partiality and esteem. Notwithstanding his attachment to their company, he was never married. He confessed himself to have been often captivated, and once thought so seriously of settling, as to make proposals. His offers were favourably received, but his *inamorata* required time for consideration, and by her delay lost her lover, as he changed his mind, and omitted to renew his application. In the latter part of his life he spoke of this event with great satisfaction, and considered that he had had a narrow, but fortunate escape.

Our poet was not only master of the French, Latin, and Greek tongues, but likewise possessed some acquaintance with the Italian language.

In addition to his acknowledged genius for poetry and painting, his musical talents exceeded mediocrity. He was not merely a respectable *amateur* performer, but composed melodies to several of his songs, which were favourably received, and subsequently published with accompaniments by an eminent professor. He possessed a general knowledge of the characteristic qualities of the most distinguished composers, and could speak with fluency and correctness on their principal works.

It is but justice to add, that he was not without a sense of religion; for few men ever conceived a more sublime idea of the Divine Being, as observable in the universe, or surveyed his marvellous works with more reverential awe. The following was his principal, if not only, prayer, which he considered sufficiently comprehensive, and repeated in a manner peculiarly emphatical: "The Lord gave, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord."

The liberties he took with our venerable sovereign, are such as will scarcely admit of extenuation. In a conversation with the writer hereof, who questioned him respecting those freedoms, he replied, "I confess there exists this difference

between us, the king has been a *good subject* to me, but I have been a *bad subject* to His Majesty." In respect to his face and person, while young, Dr. Wolcot had the appearance of being old; but when old, became somewhat handsome. To appearance, he suffered little from age, and, for a long time, the cataracts were not conspicuous; but after the experiment of couching his eye sunk, and the fine uniformity of his features fell a sacrifice to the operation.

Although but a short period has elapsed since the death of our bard, yet his countrymen are not unmindful of his merits. It is proposed that Devonshire shall honour her Wolcot, as Lichfield did Johnson. Accordingly, the admirers of our poet have already commenced a subscription to perpetuate his memory by erecting a cenotaph in the church of Dodbrook, the place that gave him birth.

*List of Dr. Wolcot's Works.*

1. A Supplicating Epistle to the Reviewers, 4to. 1778.
2. The Noble Cricketers. 4to.  
Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians, for 1782. 4to.
4. More Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians, for 1783.  
4to.
5. Lyric Odes for 1785. 4to.
6. Farewell Odes for 1786. 4to.
7. The Lousiad, an Heroi-comic Poem, in five Cantos. 4to.
8. A Congratulatory Epistle to James Boswell, Esq. 4to.
9. Bozzy and Piozzi, or the British Biographers. 4to.
10. Ode upon Ode, or a Peep at St. James's, &c. 4to.
11. An Apologetic Postscript to Ode upon Ode. 4to.
12. Instructions to a celebrated Laureat, &c. 4to.
13. Brother Peter to Brother Tom, an Expostulatory Epistle. 4to.
14. Peter's Pension, a Solemn Epistle to a Sublime Personage. 4to.
15. Peter's Prophecy, or the President and Poet, &c. 4to.
16. Sir Joseph Banks and the Emperor of Morocco, a Tale. 4to.

17. A Poetical Epistle to a Fallen Minister, &c. 4to.
18. Subjects for Painters. 4to.
19. Expostulatory Odes to a Great Duke and a Little Lord. 4to.
20. A benevolent Epistle to Sylvanus Urban, alias Master John Nichols, Censor-General of Literature, &c. 4to.
21. A Rowland for an Oliver, or a Poetical Answer to the Benevolent Epistle of Mr. Peter Pindar, &c. 4to.
22. Advice to the future Laureat, an Ode. 4to.
23. A Complimentary Epistle to James Bruce, Esq, the Abyssinian Traveller. 4to.
24. The Rights of Kings, or Loyal Odes to Disloyal Academicians. 4to. 1791.
25. Odes to Mr. Paine, Author of "Rights of Man," &c. 4to.
26. The Remonstrance, &c. 4to.
27. A Commiserating Epistle to James Lowther, Earl of Lonsdale, &c. 4to.
28. More Money ! or Odes of Instruction to Mr. Pitt. 4to.
29. Odes of Importance. 4to.
30. The Tears of St. Margaret, &c. 4to.
31. A Pair of Lyric Epistles to Lord Macartney, and his Ship. 4to.
32. Odes to Kien Long, Emperor of China, &c. 4to.
33. A Serious, and possibly Impertinent Epistle to the Pope. 4to.
34. Pathetic Odes. 4to. 1794.
35. Celebration; or the Academic Procession to St. James's. 4to. 1794.
36. Hair Powder; a Plaintive Epistle to Mr. Pitt, &c.
37. Pindariana; or Peter's Portfolio. 4to. 1794.
38. The Royal Tour, and Weymouth Amusements. 4to. 1795.
39. The Convention Bill, an Ode. 4to. 1795.
40. Liberty's last Squeak, &c. 4to. 1795.
41. The Royal Visit to Exeter. 4to. 1795.
42. One thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, a Satire. 4to. 1797.



43. An Ode to the Livery of London. 4to. 1797.
44. Picturesque Views, with Poetical Allusions. fo. 1797.
45. Out at last ! or the Fallen Minister. 4to.
46. Nil Admirari, or a Smile at a Bishop, &c. 4to.
47. Lord Auckland's Triumph, or the Death of Crim.  
Con. 4to. 1800.
48. Odes to Ins and Outs. 4to.
49. Tales of the Hoy. 4to.
50. Tears and Smiles. 8vo.
51. A Poetical Epistle to Benjamin Count Rumford, &c.  
4to. 1801.
52. The Island of Innocence. 4to. 1802.
53. The Middlesex Election. 4to. 1802.
54. Pitt and his Statue, &c. 4to.
55. The Horrors of Bribery, 4to.
56. Great Cry and Little Wool, &c. 4to. 1804.
57. An Instructive Epistle to Jehn Perring, Esq. Lord  
Mayor of London. 4to. 1804.
58. Tristia, or the Sorrows of Peter. 8vo. 1806.
59. The Fall of Portugal, or the Royal Exiles, a Tragedy.  
8vo. 1808.

*Written in conjunction with a friend.*

60. One more Peep at the Royal Academy. 4to.
61. A Solemn, Sentimental and Reprobating Epistle to  
Mrs. Clark. 4to. 1809.
62. Carlton House Fête, &c. 4to. 1811.
63. Anticipation, or the Prize Address to be delivered at  
the Opening of Drury-Lane Theatre. 4to. 1812.
64. A Most Solemn and Important Epistle to the Emperor  
of China. 4to. 1817.

Dr. Wolcöt also superintended an edition of Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters; and compiled a selection of the "Beauties of English Poetry."

## No. XII.

## HENRY CONSTANTINE JENNINGS, Esq.

## THE CELEBRATED ANTIQUARY AND VIRTUOSO.

THIS singular being seemed more properly to appertain to the last than to the present age, in every thing — character, dress, manners, and pursuits. He came into the world at a time when *vertù* was held in great estimation in England, and while the name of Sir Hans Sloane was still treated with a high degree of respect, as a collector of every rare and curious production of nature. To this school he appertained; notwithstanding he superadded a taste for the fine arts, and to the pursuits connected with both dedicated a long life and ample fortune. Close application and great sacrifices enabled him to emulate the late Duchess Dowager of Portland in England, and M. Lionette in Holland; and, as he survived them both, his collection became enriched with their spoils, and dignified with their choicest acquisitions.

An acquaintance of above fourteen years' duration, originally produced through the intervention of a very amiable nobleman, who had long known him, in addition to frequent and reciprocal visits, enabled the writer of this article to contemplate at leisure, and almost in every possible attitude, the singular old man whom he now endeavours to pourtray. He has known him both in opulence and in poverty; he has beheld him, at one time rolling in riches, and at another visited him in a jail, where he was subjected to the lot of the meanest of mortals, after having lived with the *primati* both of his own and foreign nations. Of the life and adventures of this eccentric personage, he was accustomed to take notes in his presence, and with his full approbation; indeed, he always seemed highly flattered with

this circumstance, which he deemed a mark of particular attention.

Henry Constantine Jennings, the only son of ——— Jennings, esquire, of Shiplake, in the county of Oxford, was born in 1731, O. S. He descended from a very ancient and, indeed, a very illustrious family, which claimed its origin from William Moritaente, Earl of Salisbury, and reckoned Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, among its progenitors. While speaking on this subject, he was accustomed to be very high and lofty, and always treated the present Marquis of Hastings, and his uncle, the Earl of Huntingdon, as junior and comparatively obscure branches of his family!

Certain it is, that the Jenningses of Sandridge, near St. Albans, whom Coxe, in his recent biographical \* work, mentions with high respect, on account of their distinguished lineage, were of the same race. The beautiful and high-minded Sarah Jennings, afterwards the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough, whose talents and whose charms enabled her to govern a queen of England and the hero of Europe at the same time, always termed the elder Mr. Jennings her cousin. "My father," observed the son, while speaking on this subject, "was one of her members of parliament; she bequeathed him 20,000*l.* in one of her many wills, some of which were printed; but he died before her, and it became a *lapsed legacy*. She was a *clever jade*, and I," added he, in his usual blunt manner, "only wonder that she did not leave the money to me!" †

There can be no manner of doubt of these facts, which have been lately confirmed, indeed, from the most respectable authority. In a recent communication with one of the

\* Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough, with his original correspondence.

† In his old age, the great Duke of Marlborough delighted to have plays performed in his presence, at Blenheim. We find, that in "All for Love, or the World Well Lost," the character of Ventidius was supported by "old Mr. Jennings," whom we take to have been the grandfather of the subject of this memoir. We also learn that "Mrs. Jennings" was a visitor there. — See Coxe's Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough, vol. iii.

Marlborough family, this very subject happened incidentally to be mentioned, and the alliance was not disowned.

Henry Jennings, at an early age, was sent to Westminster school for his education. Dr. Nicholls, at that time, was head master; and of his class-fellows he was accustomed to state, that they all turned out remarkable men: Mr. Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, an Earl of Buckinghamshire, and, if we mistake not, either Churchill or Lloyd, or both, were usually enumerated in this catalogue. A former Duke of Richmond was at school at the same time, but he did not appertain to these. While at this celebrated seminary, the subject of our memoir acquired a fine taste for the classics: this was accompanied, at the same time, with a very laudable proficiency; and neither of these qualifications ever forsook him, at any time, through the whole of a very long and protracted life.

At the age of seventeen, Mr. Jennings obtained a commission in the 1st regiment of foot-guards. At that period (1748), the *mall* in St. James's Park had a large iron ring at one end of it, for playing the game which gave rise to the appellation by which this fine walk is still designated. This diversion has long ceased to be practised in England, and was, indeed, introduced from the Continent, where it is still in vogue, particularly in Germany. A kind of *club-stick* is employed on this occasion; and the grand contest is, who shall first drive the wooden ball through the iron circle, an event which constitutes the victor. At the same period, according to the testimony of our informant, after the lapse of far more than half a century, St. James's Park exhibited a very different appearance from what it assumes at present. It was mostly under water, out of which arose several *duck islands*; and there was a house of entertainment, where company were accustomed to drink tea, and amuse themselves on holidays.

Our young ensign did not long wear his fine rich regimental coat, which, at that period, was nearly all covered with gold lace, like the present full dress, and cost 40*l.* or 50*l.* He resigned in consequence of some "innovations" on the part of

a prince of the blood, whom he was accustomed to characterise as follows: "The Culloden Duke of Cumberland was a great *prig*, — a *Martinet*, — very disagreeable and troublesome to the young officers of that day, by his regulations, his alterations, and his frequent changes. However, after the affair at Closter-Seven, when he had, for the first time, tasted of adversity, he began to think for himself, and ever after continued a great man."

Mr. Jennings was now sent abroad on his travels, and, not content with a partial view of foreign countries, resolved to make the grand tour of Europe. This occupied a long period; for it appears, from a note, that after residing some time in France, he crossed the Alps, and spent eight whole years in Italy, three of which were passed at Rome. In company with Lord Mount-Hermor, only son of the Duke of Montague, he afterwards visited Sicily. Of this young nobleman he was always accustomed to speak with the highest possible degree of love, respect, and admiration. His praises were uttered with a kind of rapture not easily to be described; and seldom could he mention his name, in after life, unaccompanied with a tear, which stole down his furrowed cheek, and marked the sincerity as well as constancy of his friendship! He alone, was allowed to rival and even to excel himself in respect to a knowledge of the fine arts. "Mount-Hermor!" he was accustomed to exclaim, "possessed a certain indescribable *tact* — he could discern the merits of a fine picture at a single glance — he could discriminate an original statue at first view — I never yielded to any one but him — but, alas! he is no more; he was snatched from his family and from me, while a very young man — and I have never since been able to find a sincere friend and confidential adviser!" This recognition did honour to the feelings of the survivor.

While in Italy, Mr. Jennings formed, or rather, perhaps, renewed his acquaintance with the late Duke of Marlborough, then Marquis of Blandford. The latter travelled in a grand style, and seemed to possess an unlimited power from his

father to draw on England for any sums he pleased. At Genoa, he expended 6000*l.* in velvet hangings, which were sent home; and, if we are not greatly misinformed, the world is indebted to his cousin for the the first hint of "the Marlborough gems." Mr. Jennings suggested the idea of the cabinet of antiques, the precious contents of which were afterwards engraved by Bartalozzi; and one of the few volumes ever printed, was presented as an acknowledgment to the subject of the present memoir. According to his testimony, the foundation of this rich collection was laid, with a total disregard to expense, two fine specimens obtained at Rome, having cost 1200*l.*, and two at Venice, 150*l.* each.

It was about the same period, doubtless, that Mr. Jennings, with a less extensive fortune, but still greater zeal, was inoculated with the prevalent passion of that day; a passion for *vertù*.

While at Rome, our connoisseur commenced his first collection, and ever after obtained the coarse and vulgar name of "Dog \* Jennings," in consequence of a little anecdote, which shall be here faithfully detailed in nearly his own words, from a short note: "I happened one day to be strolling along the streets of Rome, and perceiving the shop of a statuary, in an obscure street, I entered it, and began to look around for any curious production of art. I at length perceived something uncommon at least; but being partly concealed behind a heap of rubbish, I could not contemplate it with any degree of accuracy. After all impediments had been at length removed, the marble statue I had been poking for was dragged into open day — it proved to be a huge but fine dog — and a fine dog it was, and a lucky dog was I to discover and to purchase it. On turning it round I perceived it was without a tail — this gave me a hint. I also saw, that the limbs were finely proportioned; that the figure was noble; that the sculpture, in short, was worthy of the best age of Athens; and that it must

\* As this appellation disgusted him, I was accustomed to call him "Alcibiades Jennings;" a compliment that gratified him exceedingly.

be coeval with Alcibiades, whose favourite dog it certainly was. \*

"I struck a bargain instantly on the spot, for 400 *scudi*; and as the muzzle alone was somewhat damaged, I paid the artist a trifle more for repairing it. It was carefully packed, and being sent to England after me, by the time it reached my house in Oxfordshire, it had just cost me 80*l*. I wish all my other bargains had been like it; for it was exceedingly admired, as I well knew it must be by the connoisseurs, by more than one of whom I was bid 1000*l*. for my purchase. In truth, by a person sent, I believe, from Blenheim, I was offered 1400*l*. But I would not part with my dog; I had bought him for myself, and I liked to contemplate his fine proportions, and admire him at my leisure, for he was doubly dear to me, as being my own property, and of my own selection." The unlucky *finale* of the history of this favourite dog shall be mentioned hereafter.

Mr. Jennings, on his arrival in England, repaired to his fine seat at Shiplake, which had descended to him by the death of his father, and resided there for some time. It was seated in a delightful part of the country, with the Thames meandering along the side of his garden. Part of this had been laid out by his predecessor as a vineyard; and he assured me, that it proved so productive that he made from ten to fifteen hogsheads of claret yearly from its fruit. It must be confessed, that it is scarcely possible to conceive such a vintage in England. The late Mr. Bond Hopkins, indeed, afterwards tried the same experiment in Surrey, under very favourable circumstances, but without success; and whoever has beheld the vineyards extending from within a few miles of Rouen, in

\* The story is thus told by Plutarch, with his usual simplicity :

"Alcibiades had a dog of an uncommon size and beauty, which cost him seventy *minæ*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off. Some of his acquaintance found great fault with his acting so strangely, and told him, that all Athens rung with the foolish story of his treatment of the dog; at which he laughed and said, "This is the very thing I wanted; for I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should find something worse to say of me."

Langhorne's Trans. vol. ii. p. 108.

Normandy, to the plain of St. Denys, near Paris, must know that they are miserably deficient both in point of quantity and quality. On candidly stating this objection to Mr. Jennings, he endeavoured to solve one paradox by means of another; "our grapes were ripened by the reflection of the sun from the river!"

As he kept a good house, and was surrounded by several packs of hounds, the gentlemen in the field rode frequently up, when fatigued, and demanded a draught of beer. But it was impossible for the butler to grant the supply fast enough, and some accordingly went away without any refreshment. To rescue his hospitality from such a disgrace, our antiquary ordered a large mahogany pail, encircled by brass hoops, to be constructed immediately; and by means of this device was enabled to supply the whole hunt at once.\*

He complained one day bitterly, that His Majesty with the royal hounds, having come to Shiplake, enquired for the owner by the name of "Dog Jennings," and thus christened him for life; but the latter part of the story is not likely to be correct, as the favourite of Alcibiades, had been then for many years in his possession.

The present is, perhaps, the proper place to mention a new species of eccentricity, that had nearly brought ruin on the subject of the present memoir. This was the turf, — and yet of all the men in England, he must be allowed to have been the least qualified for such a pursuit. Plain, open, candid, ingenuous, as he is represented to have been at that period, he was but little fitted for the wiles and tricks of Epsom and Newmarket. The event fully justifies the supposition, that he must have been the dupe of his own jockeys, and the prey of most, if not all, his adversaries.

Mr. Jennings commenced his operations with considerable *eclat*, and selected the late Duke of Queensbury and the Earl of Abingdon as his opponents. With the former of these, he

\* The pail at this moment, stands under the sideboard of the writer of the present article. It was presented him by Mr. Jennings, in return for a series of French medals in bronze.



entered into engagements to a considerable amount on the *undropped foals* of certain mares, to be respectively named by them, the match to be "play or pay." One prominent feature of his life, was the purchase of the famous Chillaby, about the time of which we now treat. This horse came originally from Bombay, and was bought out of an East India-man, for 300 guineas from the captain, who asserted that he had been once sold, in his native country, for 4000*l.*, a circumstance to which his purchaser gave ample credit. This gentleman owned, in 1805, that he had spent a considerable portion of one of his estates, (about 10,000*l.*) on this speculation; "but he had since discovered, that Chillaby was not of the right Bagdat breed; in short, my dear sir," added he, "he was not a *true Capadocian*; for you must know, that Capadocia possessed the fleetest horses, in the time of the Romans." Yet this was a noble-looking animal, although uncommonly fierce. He was, therefore, always obliged to be muzzled when he went out, and, in addition to this precaution, he was constantly attended by a couple of grooms, each holding a rope fastened to his head, to prevent accident. One of these having dropped the fastening, in his fright, the stallion immediately ran at the other, and felled him to the ground with his two fore feet, notwithstanding which the Yorkshireman, (for he was of the true northern breed) took him back to the stable without help, calmly observing, that he could not treat him much worse.\*

Mr. Jennings now took a house in Essex, with eighty adjoining acres of land, for Chillaby and his breeding mares. But, alas! he was beaten at every race, and "bubbled" in every bett. Deserted by his confederates, overcome by his antagonists, and cheated by his servants, he was at length obliged to offer for sale, his fine Dorsetshire estate, containing about three or four thousand acres. This threw him into the hands of the *land-jobbers*, and between these and the *jobbers*

\* Chillaby was afterwards purchased for a trifle, and so completely tamed by Hughes, that he actually exhibited him at the Circus in St. George's Fields, with a little boy on his back.

on the turf, his fortune was dissipated, his life harassed, and himself rendered completely miserable. And yet he preserved no rancour in his mind, and never appeared in the least vindictive in his resentments. On the contrary, I have heard him describe the character of a nobleman, who got many thousand pounds of his money, with a degree of liberality truly surprising. "Queensbury," observed he, one day, "was always honourable in his bets, and a far better jockey than any of us. He never *hedged*, but went through with every thing." \*

\* The Duke of Queensbury, at length, forsook the *turf*, notwithstanding his great success. The following account of this singular nobleman, towards the conclusion of his days, has been derived from an authentic source. "His Grace, during the latter part of his life, on eating his breakfast, was placed on a settee, exactly facing his easternmost parlour window, in Piccadilly, which was guarded from the sun by a viranda without, and a blind, occasionally let down, within. Behind him stood a *nomenclator*, during the whole forenoon, to announce the names of such of his friends as might pass by, to whom he frequently sent out messages, invitations, &c. many of them, when in haste, accordingly avoided to walk that way. Young Retford was at the same time constantly on horseback, parading up and down, to convey letters. He had a report from Bow Street daily; and the late Aaron Graham, Esq. called on him every Sunday, with a summary."

"At eight, he was carried to dinner, whence he returned in an hour to his former station, where, in *better days*, he had espied the ladies, as they walked alone:

'Non immemor veteris vestigia flammæ.'

"The duke's mind was obliged, from *vacuity* perhaps, to recur to this mechanical impulse, for he once said 'that he never read but two publications, and the one was an almanack, and the other a newspaper.' His physician (*Pere Elisé*) endeavoured to keep him alive by means of warm baths, into which he was put during many hours, three times in the week.

"His charities were very considerable, and he himself not only gave something to every applicant, but was accustomed to say, that it was the fault of Dubois his valet, or some of his servants, if any one went away without tasting his bounty.

"To an old man and old woman in the vicinity of Piccadilly, he gave seven shillings a week each, with the benefit of survivorship, and the dowager, who sells greens, is now actually alive, and enjoys her fourteen shillings a week.

"His head or *body* coachman, who had been with him from a boy, is supposed to have been literally forgotten in the will; for he left his horses and carriages to Retford the head groom, together with an annuity of 100*l.* per annum, and also obtained a promise from the Prince of Wales, which has been since complied with, that he and his three sons should be taken into his Royal Highness's service. The horses were sold, but the carriages proved so little in the present taste, that but a scanty sum was obtained for them. The plate, on the other hand, was magnificent, and replete with taste and decorations: this was piled up, after his decease, in pyramids. The duke had become very deaf, towards his latter end, and constantly made use of an ear trumpet.

"The Prince of Wales and Lord Yarmouth, went into his chamber soon after his demise, and came out with *wet* eyes."

Mr. Jennings now retired into the country, and lived with a degree of obscurity and economy, corresponding with his ruined condition. All his former habits were suddenly changed. He withdrew himself from the chess club in St. James's Street, where Phillidor presided, and the company frequenting it, in whose society he had formerly taken so much delight. He also struck his name out of the jockey club at Newmarket, notwithstanding which he had a kind of hankering after the turf, almost to the very day of his death. At the age of seventy-six, he observed it was "a very very knowing thing;" and when the "rich Mr. Jennings," as he called him, was in search of an heir, and demanded "if he could have his estates back again, would he ever frequent the turf?" he drily replied, "it was impossible to tell."

Soon after this, we find the subject of this memoir a prisoner in the King's Bench. He was there in 1777-8, at the same time with Mr. Horne Tooke. This led to an acquaintance between these singular men; and so clear was his memory, in 1804, after the lapse of near thirty years, that he sent a message by a common friend to Wimbledon, reminding his old acquaintance that he had lent him a book (a volume of the History of England), when they were both prisoners together, and the whole had in consequence remained incomplete to that very day. Mr. Tooke acknowledged the charge to be true.

A sudden change of fortune appears to have taken place; for soon after, we find Mr. Jennings, not only liberated from thralldom, but once more settled in Essex, collecting objects of *vertù*, with all that enthusiasm usually displayed by a person of his ardent temperament. Books, manuscripts, shells, pictures, prints, busts, together with many thousand rare specimens of natural history, were purchased by him, and arranged in due order on his shelves. He had now seemingly attained once more to the very *acmé* of prosperity, when an event unexpectedly occurred that levelled him again in the dust.

The late Mr. Chase Price, a man celebrated for his wit and conviviality, through the interest of his friends had obtained the lucrative office of Receiver-General of South Wales. As

he had large balances in his hand, and Government was at that period culpably negligent as to the arrears of the servants of the Crown, Mr. Price, with his usual *good nature*, lent considerable sums of the public money to those whom he esteemed. Among others, 1600*l.* were advanced to Mr. Jennings, and a much larger sum to the Duke of Portland. On the sudden death of this gentleman, an enquiry was made into his affairs; and on its being discovered that our naturalist was one of his debtors, *an extent of the Crown in aid* was immediately issued against his property; and while the nobleman in question escaped a measure so obnoxious, it was carried into effect against him, and that too with such a degree of rigour, that a late act of parliament has been passed for the express purpose of preventing a repetition of similar grievances.

At this unfortunate period, he was confined to his bed by a severe attack of the gout, and totally unable to move. The late Mr. Christie of Pall-mall, however, was sent for; and he valued the property at 25,000*l.* Under the hammer of another auctioneer, however, coupled with a variety of unfortunate circumstances, the whole only produced a very trifling portion of that sum.

On this occasion, he was obliged to part with all that was most dear to him in life. The dog of Alcibiades, which has been since mentioned with applause by Horace Walpole, was sold to Mr. Duncombe, then knight of the shire for the county of York, and is still to be seen at his seat there. His fine bust of Alexander, valued at 300 guineas, was disposed of to Lord Stormont for fifty. Most of his select books were purchased for the royal library. Soon after this, we actually find him an inmate of Chelmsford jail!

In 1792, the following account of this singular man, written by Mr. Pigott, a gentleman who, like himself, had fallen a martyr to the turf, was published:—

“Chillaby Jennings, the unfortunate gentleman who is the subject of this article, was a member of the real Jockey Club, to whose insatiate avarice and barbarity he fell a sacrifice. With genius and talents far superior to what the generality of men

could boast, with a spirit of liberality and honour which they never felt, he was utterly unacquainted with the secret manœuvres and complicated mysteries of the turf. He had passed the morning and meridian of his life in far different pursuits, and was distinguished for an excellent taste in the elegant arts, and universally esteemed the best of men !

“ Unfortunately, an eccentric turn of mind led him to wander from the original path ; and the blindest partiality for a favourite horse, that he had casually seen and purchased in Moorfields, seduced him to enter the fatal lists of Newmarket. Mr. Jennings was unacquainted with the merit of pedigree ; nor did he conceive but a race from *Chillaby*, the name of this animal, from whom he himself derives his *subriquet*, might be equal, or superior, to that of any other in the kingdom.

“ Under this prejudice, he commenced jockey ; bought a number of mares, and engaged the produce of them and *Chillaby* for capital sums. Such a golden shower seemed as if *providentially* sent to revive the declining prosperity of Newmarket ; it being in the time of the American war, when money was uncommonly scarce, and the turf altogether abandoned, except by its old hackneyed stagers. Amongst these, there were men of the highest order of nobility, decorated with stars and ribbands, — a vile delusive ornament, to conceal the native infamy of their hearts.

“ Mr. Jennings was at once elected a member of their society. Unconscious of villany, and fascinated by these gaudy appearances, calculated only for delusion and imposition, his unsuspecting temper was confirmed, and he embarked in the pursuit with all the eagerness and security of perfect confidence peculiar to his open ingenuous nature.

“ It might have been presumed, that men, enriched by fortune, ennobled by rank, vain of their birth, and happy in all the advantages of life, would have laboured to suppress this blind and fatal enthusiasm ; but, on the contrary, every possible artifice was practised to encourage it ; and, amongst the rest, none discovered so much zeal and activity in the cause, as the notorious old Q——.

“ The result of this unhappy infatuation was ruin to the truly amiable and worthy man; nor did they who had encouraged and profited by his folly, among whom his very considerable profits had been divided, and who had brought him to the last stage of distress, ever once attempt to alleviate it, or express a symptom of concern for his misfortunes. They suffered him to remain in the King’s Bench, and in Chelmsford jail, for years, in all the extremity of human misery, A PRISONER IN WANT; and not long since, the author of these sheets met him, to all appearance an object that would have extorted charity from the most flinty heart, — the victim of disease, old age, and penury.”

From this time, but few particulars of his life are known to me, until he settled at Chelsea, where I first became known to him. This was about the year 1803, at which period he must have been near 72 years of age. On presenting myself at his door, a man-servant, with but one eye, and apparently maimed in other parts of his body, announced the name of his visitor. I at first thought my conductor might be an out-pensioner of the neighbouring hospital; but I soon learned that he was a victim, not to war, but to science, having been nearly destroyed in the service of his master. On announcing a message from a common friend, I was received with open arms; and, from that moment, all his treasures were subject to my frequent inspection.

As he was sometimes shy of strangers, many applied to me for an introduction; and, among others, I had the pleasure to carry to Lindsay-Row some gentlemen belonging to the British Museum. They were chiefly desirous to see and examine the fine collection of shells; and on our retiring, we took a turn on Battersea-Bridge, where, on my demanding their value, they agreed, “ that in time of peace, and under favourable circumstances, they might sell for 9000 pounds or guineas.”

It was not difficult to discover that Mr. Jennings was a good Latin scholar, and in his collection he possessed fine copies of all the classics; some of these, indeed, were magnificent,

both as to printing and binding. He himself was generally accustomed to read those in *usum Delphini*.

Horace appeared to be his favourite author; and the works of this celebrated poet, richly bound, in green Morocco, were constantly placed at a table on his right hand. The facility with which he referred to any particular passage always appeared surprising; for, to my great astonishment, he could recur to some of the most noted even in the dark. This fact was verified more than once in my own presence; for, on the appearance of light, I constantly found his fingers between two gilt leaves, one of which contained the quotation.

Although his house commanded a fine view of the river, he never once deigned to look at the charming prospect. Indeed it would have been difficult, if not impossible, had he been inclined to regale his eye with such a noble object, for his windows were so dirty as to bid defiance to all distinct vision; and indeed they seemed to realise the poetic idea of "darkness visible." This mansion, which had been formerly the residence of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, his school-fellow at Westminster, was occupied in the following manner:—In the front parlour was an immense Arctic bear, of a white colour, and, if I recollect aright, a winged animal, greatly decayed, which might once have been an eagle. The garden, either before or behind, bore no marks of the spade, the rake, or the pruning-knife; the very walls appeared in a state of complete ruin; the shrubs were allowed to grow wildly luxuriant; while the labours of man never seemed to have been applied to the deserted mould, which was covered with a yellowish moss, and exhibited every mark of desolation.

In the rear were the offices of all kinds, and from the kitchen sallied forth, at the approach of a stranger, his house-keeper, a married woman of about thirty years of age, accompanied by a number of ragged children, of whom, as if anxious for the character of her who at last became his only servant, he was accustomed to declare on honour, "that he was not the father."

On the left-hand side of the drawing-room door was to be seen himself—a very old and decrepid man, generally clothed in a brown suit of coarse cloth, with immense large silver buttons awkwardly fastened to the breast of his coat. He constantly wore a small hat, both at home and abroad, and possessed both a white and a black beaver, the former of which was always selected for great occasions. Sitting in an immense arm-chair, lined with carpet; his body was mechanically placed in a reclining position, approaching nearly to the horizontal. This was effected by invariably reposing his legs and feet on a Roman *Triclinium*\*, which he valued greatly. According to him “the ancients ought to have known something of health and comfort after a civilisation of so many centuries! while, as to us, so lately barbarians, we had not been above a thousand years out of the woods.”

This venerable figure, with a sharp and croaking voice, saluted the visitor, whom he recognised by means of a mirror, and to whom he scarcely deigned to turn his head. He appeared to sit enthroned in all the majesty of *Vertù* amidst his books, his pictures, and his shells; and never willingly arose, but to

\* The Triclinium, a kind of bed, on which three persons could repose, or rather recline, at once, is mentioned by several of the Roman poets, and was constantly used at meals. That appertaining to Mr. Jennings was made out of the wood of English cherry-tree; and the modern was an evident improvement on the ancient model.

Those of the opulent Romans were at length decorated with, and perhaps entirely composed of the precious metals. Pliny observes as follows on this subject: “*Ante Sullæ victoriam, duo tantum Triclinia Romæ fuerunt Argentea.*”

On presenting one to the author of this article, the generous donor exclaimed, “Use it constantly! it was daily and uniformly resorted to by the lords of the world; and Cato, after the battle of Pharsalia, condemned himself, by way of penance, to abstain from this article of luxury.”

I find that Mr. Jennings was strictly correct in respect to the last assertion; for on recurring to Plutarch, whence he appears to have derived his information, I learn that this illustrious man, during the civil war, “never cut his hair, nor shaved his beard, nor wore a garland, as in anguish for his country.” This also is expressly stated in the text; that on the evening before his death, (I now quote from Dr. Langhorne’s translation, vol. v. p. 114.) “after bathing, he went to supper with a large company, at which he sat, as he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia; for he never now lay down, except to sleep.”

These quotations are given solely with the view of proving, that the *quondam* Westminster scholar was always correct in his classical allusions.



gratify himself and his guest, by exhibiting some or all of these. Among his portraits he had a Mary Queen of Scots; and he boasted that no profane pencil had ever been suffered to retouch it since finished. A painter, however, shewed me where it had been evidently *mended*; and on this, as on many other occasions, Mr. Jennings was most assuredly the dupe of the dealers. The picture of the children of Charles I. (Charles II. and James II. &c.), with a fine large mastiff in front, was much praised and valued by him, as *unique*: the original, however, is at Windsor Castle. A landscape, with a rainbow, and some good figures in the foreground, was estimated by its owner sometimes at 2000*l.*, sometimes at 3000*l.*, according to the state of his purse, on account of the shepherds, which were said to have been painted by Rubens. It was knocked down, at the sale, as well as I can recollect, for 40*l.* There was a picture by a young but celebrated Italian artist of a Venus awaiting the arrival of Mars, surrounded by Cupids blowing conchs and playing on warlike instruments. This he once promised to a gentleman, who had undertaken to consume his body to ashes, by means of fire, and deposit the remains in a sepulchral urn.

The shells, which must be allowed to have exhibited a most superb assemblage, were chiefly arranged in mahogany cabinets, with a sliding glass top to every separate box. To procure some of these he had made immense sacrifices, both in respect to the mode of obtaining the money and the sum actually paid. They were placed in due series, so as to exhibit every possible size, from early youth to extreme old age, on the part of the animals inhabiting them. In one, which he highly prized, the volute happened to be inverted. To the formation of others some obstruction had been given, and a new process, and sometimes new colours were resorted to. On asking him one day what had been the *maximum* price he placed three in my hand, for which he had given 90*l.* to the daughters of a late celebrated physician; and one alone, his many-ridged harp, cost him 120*l.*

Among his other treasures, our *virtuoso* possessed two specimens of the *Gamberonica*, an indifferent one of which was disposed of for 45*l.* at the Duchess of Portland's sale.

Mr. Jennings valued himself greatly on his Venus's slipper, for which he had paid 60*l.*, and I deemed it exquisite until I beheld one in the botanic garden at Paris. It had been obtained during the expedition in search of D'Entrecasteaux, and was presented to Josephine. It is *unique* of its kind.

After admiring these, you were ushered by the happy owner into an anti-room, but not until he had carefully locked his cabinets and his door. In the second apartment was a very fine whole-length portrait of his daughter Miss Jennings, now Mrs. Locke; and he was accustomed to observe, in his usual manner, that "Bett looked well, handsome, and natural, for he had placed her on a table, and conversed with her all the time, that the artist might be enabled to take a good likeness!" On the ground was an open chest, full of ladies' shoes; in this, according to his account, had been successively deposited, one belonging to every female with whom he had become *acquainted* during the course of his whole life. Annexed were scattered marble slabs, pieces of tessellated pavement, ancient busts, preserved birds, and a variety of inferior objects of *vertù*.

You were finally admitted into the *sanctum sanctorum*, through a passage, to the right of which were carelessly piled up a valuable collection of English, French, and Latin books. Their appearance and value wonderfully contrasted with the slovenly manner in which they were thrown together. Of most the leaves were gilded; others exhibited the finest specimens of binding, both British and German; while many, in *milk-white vellum* covers, would have dignified the principal shelves of the *amateurs*.

The apartment to which this led was no other than his own chamber, the bed in which exhibited the most dreary and comfortless appearance; in short, it would have chilled the blood of any but a regular antiquary, who slept here, surrounded by the rarest, choicest, and most precious objects of his ambition.

Enclosed in a clumsy wooden case, was a fine picture of a school, by Gerard Dow; the master was employed in mending a pen; above his head, appeared a linnet fluttering in a cage; around him were his pupils, one of whom, a young nobleman, dressed in a Flemish cloak, made a distinguished figure at the game of *Hot Cockles*. As the owner always made a regular estimate of his treasures, and generally declared it aloud, this was valued at 400 guineas, and here I thought the price not overcharged.

Our connoisseur next generally displayed some fine specimens of the Amalekite from Russia, which might have once been deemed *unique* of their kind, when they first came into his possession; but whoever may have seen the tables at Trianon, presented by the Emperor Alexander to Buonaparte, would perhaps hold them but in little esteem. In the collection of an English private gentleman, however, these green *laminæ*, perhaps, were still entitled to be considered, if not exquisite, at least respectable.

An immense *Beryl*, which, as he frankly owned to me, in his own emphatic language, "he had often pawned for 300*l*." was an object of considerable curiosity. Perhaps within a foot of this rare gem was deposited, what he was pleased to term his *antediluvian pig*. This was a concave segment of a stone of considerable magnitude and ponderosity, formerly appertaining to the collection of Sir Ashton Lever. It appeared *vitreous*, and represented, as through a glass, the bowels, fat, and even the bristles of a porker, in the most natural order possible; and with a verisimilitude, that could not fail to strike, and to amuse the most careless observer. According to his theory, it was a production evidently anterior to the flood of Noah, and had taken some thousand years to *harden* into, and assume its present form and appearance.

The exhibition always very properly closed with a view of its chief ornament. This was the figure, or rather the bust of a goddess in *bronze*; but as the materials were said to consist of gold, silver, tin, &c. the appellation, perhaps, of "Corinthian brass," would be rather more correct and appropriate.

This ever had been, and still was with him, an object of high esteem, approaching, indeed, to adoration. He permitted none but those he termed "presentable people" to gaze on it; he, himself, approached the iron chest, in which his divinity was enshrined, with an apparent degree of awe, and after brandishing the key in a peculiar manner, applied it to the lock with a certain degree of reverence. On being questioned as to the name of the artist, "Praxiteles" was uniformly honoured with mention; and the date of between three and four thousand years, assigned as the epoch of execution, or rather of *creation*. I had almost omitted to mention, that Mr. Jennings valued himself greatly on the possession of one other article: this was the rouge box of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, queen of France. The inside was entirely of gold, and the vermilion or *fard* appeared to have been put on by means of a camel's-hair pencil; with a handle of the same metal. The royal arms of France were designated on the rich cover, the whole forming a square of the ordinary size of a snuff-box. Of the originality of this article, there can be no manner of doubt; and, to enhance the interest of the spectator, its delighted owner was always accustomed to conclude by observing, "that it had been taken out of her Majesty's pocket immediately after her head was cut off by the executioner."

Mr. Jennings's collection of shells was particularly rich in the following genera:

1. *Genus Murex*.
2. *Genus Triplex*.
3. *Genus Rostettaria*. Of these he had some specimens singular for their beauty; others immense in point of size.
4. *Genus Strombus*. Of these there were a great variety, and some of the *Digitati* were supposed by the ladies to approach the terrific.
5. and 6. The *Genera Terebra et Acculea*. Of these there were some fine specimens.
7. *Genus Conus*. This series very complete; and he piqued himself greatly on his cones.
8. *Genus Buccinella*. The species consisted of all sizes, from

that of a French bean, until they attained such a magnitude as to be scarcely portable.

9. *Genus Bulimus*; and 10. and 11. the Genera *Corithium* and *Terebellum*. For some rare specimens of the *Genus Harpa*, he gave uncommon prices.

The following are mentioned and figured from his collection in Perry's *Conchology*:

1. *Genus Biplex*. No. 5. *Biplex Perca*, described as "an exceedingly rare and beautiful shell, and until of late, supposed to be *unique*."

2. *Genus Hexaplex*. No. 3. *Hexaplex Fusca*.

3. *Cypræa Jenningsia*; so called after himself.

5. *Genus Melania*. No. 1. *Melania Aurantia*.

6. *Genus Oliva*. No. 3. *Oliva Subviridis*.

7. *Argonauta Vitrea*. Mentioned, but not figured.

Notwithstanding this superb collection was apparently so complete, in point of numbers, variety, and excellence, as almost to defy competition; yet it would appear from a loose memorandum, a copy of which is subjoined, that a few rare articles were still wanting, and of these he was particularly desirous, in 1815, to become the purchaser.

1. *Cedo Nulli*. This was disposed of at Lionette's sale at the Hague, for 30*l*. It is now at Caen in Normandy, and he was then willing to give the same price.

2. The *Gloria Maris*\*, usually sold for 10*l*.; it is at present in Solay's collection, at Paris.

Of books, Mr. Jennings possessed the folio edition of Shakspeare, which was in high preservation; his *Princeps* edition of Horace was rated very high and very loosely by him, sometimes at 200*l*., and at other times at 300*l*. But he chiefly valued himself on Cardinal Grimani's Commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, in folio, with grand vignettes, and frontispiece, by Julio Clovio. It is finely illuminated with coloured drawings (I think five portraits). The following is its more recent history in the owner's own words.

\* *Conus Gloria Maris* is figured in Perry's *Conchology*, Plate xxv. from a fine specimen in the British Museum. This shell is magnificent both in form and colour.

"It formerly sold for 3000*l.*; Mr. Smith, the British consul at Venice, gave 2000*l.* for it. I pawned it for 350*l.* to Mr. ——. I gave but 700*l.* for it, and will sell it for 1500*l.*"

The following is the inscription:

"MARINO  
GRIMA  
NO. CAR.  
ET. LEGA.  
TO. PER-  
SINO. PA-  
TRONO.  
SUO JULIVS.  
CROVATA  
PRINCIPA."

The minerals were neither rare nor curious; they did not appear even select. Indeed, with the exception of one single ponderous specimen of gold ore, Mr. Jennings possessed nothing in his collection worthy of arresting attention, even for a moment.

Of his paintings\*, some of the *cognoscenti* doubted both their originality and value; and I have heard more than one pronounce him to have been no judge of this branch of the fine arts. It was in SHELLS that he excelled; and yet it must be fairly owned, that even as to these he seemed unacquainted with the first principles of scientific arrangement, form, order, or classification; nay, he was scarcely acquainted even with the terms of the art.

Indeed, he always frankly acknowledged, that it was the "beautiful" that he alone aspired to possess. "Let any one bring to me," he was accustomed to observe, "any thing ex-

\* The pictures, shells, &c. were sold by Phillips, in New Bond Street, in April, 1816, intermixed with a variety of other compositions of inferior note. The prices were such as to justify the suspicions of those who argued, from the beginning, that the amount would be but trifling. Here follows an account of some of the principal lots really appertaining to Mr. Jennings, with the sums respectively annexed.

A Landscape, with figures, by Rubens, the Shepherd sup-	£.	s.	d.
posed to be himself	39	18	0
N. B. A copy of smaller dimensions, which I had never be-			
fore seen, was sold about half an hour before, for	6	16	6
Mary, Queen of Scots, by Jansens	46	4	0
Gabrielle de Vergy	5	5	0
Venus waiting for Mars, by Giorgioni	6	6	6

quisite or uncommon, no matter of what kind; and I am ready to become a purchaser."

The front room on the second floor of Mr. Jennings's house was dedicated to astronomical purposes. There was placed a fine telescope, with which he had been accustomed to amuse himself, during the severest nights of winter, in examining the heavens. Sometimes he would employ his glasses, to investigate whether any new planets still remained undiscovered. At other times he contemplated the moon with admiration and delight, and frequently talked of the mountains and seas he had seen there, with all the familiarity of a circumnavigator.

At one period he busied himself in exactly ascertaining the vibrations of an immense pendulum. This was placed in one of the attics, and had been lent to him by the late Earl Stanhope, who appears to have set a high value on it.

Mr. Jennings wished always to be particularly exact as to the measurement of time, and in the course of his life had a series of *chronometers* constructed for him by the most eminent watchmakers of the day. His last was at least equal to any of the former, in point of workmanship, although perhaps inferior as to price, being inclosed in silver instead of gold cases.

But he valued himself still more on an appendage to it. This was a seal very plainly, but handsomely set, which he bought at Naples for a single Paul (a pontifical sixpence). It bore the consular insignia, with this singular motto:

"CASSIUS IMPERATOR  
LIBERTATE LANGUESCENTE."

He was pleased to consider this as a real *antique*, engraved in the camp, with a diamond, and without the aid of a wheel, a little before the fatal battle of Philippi.

Our *Virtuoso* addicted himself at one period to chemistry, and was accustomed to make experiments in his laboratory, until he had nearly become a victim to his love of science. On one of these occasions, like Dr. Watson, Bishop of Landaff, while professor at Cambridge, he was actually blown up!

His valet, who acted as an assistant, and to whom reference has been already made, lost an eye, and he himself received several wounds in his leg. He was accustomed to boast, "that notwithstanding this mishap, with his usual punctuality, he kept an engagement to dinner that very day."

Mr. Jennings was also a great etymologist, and being intimately acquainted with the Italian, in which he both "thought and dreamed," he was thus enabled to descant both on the structure and origin of our own language. Here follows a specimen in his own words.

"Sallad," he was accustomed to say, comes from *sallada*, the Italian for a helmet, which, during the times of chivalry, was often converted into a receptacle for that dish." He used to add, "that it was customary for the *dulcinea* to pick the herbs, and prepare the entertainment for her favourite knight."

What follows is likely to be accurate, having been copied from a note taken in his own presence:—

In respect to exercise, he was not only a great advocate for it, but he practised it to a degree scarcely credible for upwards of half a century. He possessed a long and ponderous wooden instrument, capped with lead at both ends, in the management of which he was such an adept, that he boasted of having disarmed the best "small-swordsman in Italy;" and even now, give him but fair play, he "would not be afraid of five or six English housebreakers." Every night, before bed-time, as has been already hinted, he exercised himself with this formidable weapon, until he acquired a comfortable warmth, which enabled him to retire to rest with a genial glow. In the morning, according to his own account, he got up between seven and eight o'clock\*; and, in his own expressive words, "flourished his broad-sword exactly 300 times; I then," adds he, "mount my chaise-horse, composed of leather, and inflated with wind like a pair of bellows, on which I take exactly 1000 gallops!" He then retired to enjoy what always ap-

\* This account, given by himself, must have alluded to an earlier period of his life, as he was not accustomed to rise sooner than ten or twelve during the last fifteen years.



peared to me to be a most miserable and uncomfortable breakfast.

After this meal, he employed himself, when no sale of curiosities was expected in town, chiefly in reading. As to writing, he, of late years, declined that operation almost entirely; and, indeed, he could not effect it without much labour. Notwithstanding this, our *virtuoso* possessed several curious ink-stands, both ancient and modern. One of these, a *true antique* in the Egyptian style, might have passed, with many of the fashionable people who beheld it, as a present from Mark Anthony to Cleopatra.

After a scanty dinner, which shall be described hereafter, — for our antiquary seldom walked out for exercise, — he still retained possession of his arm-chair and his triclinium, and folding the *purple* mantle of dyed flannel over his legs and feet, took a nap, which he termed his *ciesto*, a custom he had first been taught to indulge in during his residence in Italy. After this, either his books or his cabinets, occupied his attention until night. At all times of the day, however, he might be occasionally seen adjusting, arranging, and placing his shells in due order; but his choicest and most grateful employment was to *clean, purify, and polish* them, on their first arrival from their respective countries. He himself, in former times, has not unfrequently gone on board East and West Indiamen, for the purpose of buying these and other rare productions, exactly in the state in which they were torn from their native beds. Of late years, however, he was obliged to purchase at second-hand, and an enhanced value, from the dealers.

I have beheld him, with a green baize apron before and a wet towel in his hand, enjoying the most exquisite delight, after contemplating these in “the rough,” applying his brushes to every part, with an unwonted display of vigour. A preparation of spirit of sea-salt having almost instantaneously produced a gentle effervescence, the outward surface began to disappear. Here all the skill of the shell-fancier was displayed; for if the *ley* happened to be too strong, the precious specimens

might be damaged, perhaps ruined; and if not sufficiently powerful, the operation proved ineffectual.

Next comes the polish: and what were "his dear delights," when the colours began to brighten; — when the exact form, and shape, and size, were disclosed; — and, above all, when any adventitious circumstance happened to heighten the value of the acquisition! At length, the pearl-lined *Nautilus*, the radiant *Buccinella*, or the superb *Terebra*, appeared in all its meridian splendour, and the connoisseur, who had found these ugly and hideous objects but an hour before, was now almost ready to fall down and worship them, after the sudden and brilliant change effected by the magic of his own workmanship.

Mr. Jennings had a great attachment to wax candles, which proceeded partly from foreign travel, and partly from frequenting genteel houses in the early period of his life. In 1808, he laid in a supply to the amount of 21*l.*; partly because the maker, who, according to him, excelled in this manufacture, might either die or become a bankrupt; and partly with a view to prevent trouble, "as he thought they might last long enough to *burn an old man out of this world!*" In order to enable him to consume the last half-inch of the wick, and prevent the least particle of the wax from being wasted, he made use of a silver *save-all*: this consisted of a fine Queen Anne's half-crown piece, in excellent preservation. A Queen Anne's farthing, which is infinitely more valuable, or even an Otho, would have been used on a similar occasion, had it been deemed more convenient for the purposes of *economy*: this, like the rod of Aaron, swallowed up all other competitors.

For the exhibition of his pictures, no particular days or hours were assigned. All who were "presentable" (his favourite word) might come at any time; and I have beheld the old gentleman surrounded, and flattered, and complimented, by wealth, titles, youth, and beauty. Such a scene pleased him exceedingly: he felt his youth renewed, his constitution re-invigorated, while a hectic flush of colour rushed into his pallid cheek; in short, he seemed fully compensated for tenants

gone, lands sold, houses and villas abandoned, — spent, — vanished, — lost for ever!

Meanwhile, his apartments were become an intolerable nuisance. I recollect to have once seen a great northern Duke, then almost an octogennarian, and famous for his personal cleanliness, nearly suffocated by sitting down suddenly on the sofa, after having admired and scrupulously examined every article in the collection. No sooner did his Grace come in contact with this receptacle of filth, than a cloud of dust was raised around, so as nearly to obscure him from the rest of the company. This, as has already been hinted, proceeded from his settled maxim, “not to put temptation in the way of servants!” Accordingly, mops, brooms, and scrubbing brushes, had been utterly excluded during a long series of fifteen or sixteen years.

To all these evils, he was wholly insensible. In admiration of his own good fortune, he could sit, or rather recline, amidst heaps of ancient and modern rubbish, and seemed to be wholly lost in the contemplation of his ideal riches. He thought that the same degree of admiration occupied the bosoms of others, and that his station, in respect to *connoisseurship*, was so lofty as to excite the envy of mankind. I well recollect, that the Marquis of Douglas, now Duke of Hamilton, who had been just married to his lovely cousin, with the usual politeness of a man of rank, one forenoon complimented Mr. Jennings on his great taste, his persevering industry, and his princely acquisitions. On his retiring, the *virtuoso*, turning round to me, very gravely demanded, “if I did not think the nobleman, who had just withdrawn, would not be happy to exchange his *bride* against the rarities on which he had just bestowed so much applause and attention?” It was difficult, if not impossible, to preserve a proper degree of gravity on such an occasion!

The peculiarities of Mr. Jennings were many and singular; to recollect them all is impossible; but an endeavour shall be here made to enumerate a few more. Being much troubled with the gout, contrary to all received opinions, he generally

recurred to a sub-acid for a cure. This consisted of black currant jelly, which he drank with water, as a common beverage; and being in the immediate vicinity of the gardens that supply this species of fruit, he always purchased large quantities in the course of the summer. These were squeezed by himself, from hair bags, by means of a machine contrived expressly for that purpose, as well as boiled and potted under his own immediate inspection; and, if I am not greatly mistaken, by his own hand. Notwithstanding this, no cure ensued!

Our antiquary affected to be, and most probably was an adept at the *quarter-staff*. As he never had any fire in his chamber, he had a broad sword always lying either on or near his bed, partly with a view of defending himself and treasure against robbers, and partly for the purpose of encreasing the circulation, and thus generating warmth. He was accustomed to boast, that he had rendered the Earl of Morton, like himself, eminently skilful in this wholesome and manly exercise.

His clothes, as has been already stated, were of a primitive cut, and but for the buttons, which were nearly as large as dollars, might have rivalled those of a quaker in simplicity. His stockings were of yarn; his back appeared to be bent either with age or infirmity, while his shoes, or rather half boots, exhibited the original colour, which they had first assumed in the tan-pit. Through the long period of thirty-eight years, they had been kept sacred from the pollution of the blacking brush. That modern innovation, by which the outside covering of the human foot assumes a jetty gloss, and in consequence of its even and polished surface, like a mirror, reflects every object around it, was dreaded by the owner, who always mentioned the chronology of his boots with a degree of exultation that can only be conceived by the ardent imagination of a true antiquary like himself!

The simplicity of his dress in general has been frequently alluded to, but it yet may be necessary to state, that on great occasions, in addition to the use of his *white hat*, which supplied the want of a wig, recourse was had to another accessory

ornament. This, which was the only remnant of a court to be found either about his person or his house, consisted of a coat of such a colour as might have exposed him to no small degree of danger at Byzantium, when princes "born in the purple" would not suffer any one to wear so much as a pair of hose tinged with the "Tyrian dye." It had been made, perhaps, by some taylor in St. James's Street, about the same epoch as his boots; and, if accompanied by a bag and sword, was still capable of carrying its owner to Carlton House, for it had a *stand-up collar*; while the ample sleeves were decorated by buttons placed in a transverse direction.

In this dress he would sometimes appear at the right hand of the auctioneer, to give his nod, or articulate his approbation, when some choice object of *vertù*, after being secluded for half a century in the museum of a *connoisseur*, was exposed to the envious gaze of assembled collectors, by his long expectant heirs. At other times, he would relapse into his primitive habits, and on a wet day, I have seen him driving to a sale in New Bond-street, or Covent-garden, in a blue great coat, which no decent hackney-coachman would have owned.

In his household affairs the peculiarities of our antiquary were to the full as singular as his dress. His breakfast was served at a late hour, and on a dirty table-cloth. He made use of beautiful vases of porcelain for his tea, which was of the best kind, and had been previously sifted; while, like a contemporary virtuoso\*, he always washed and wiped them with his own hand. With a singular deviation from this mark of elegance and refinement, both his bread and butter, which appeared to be of the coarsest manufacture, were regularly brought up on *wooden platters*; and instead of the silver trowel, &c. he was always accustomed to use a clasp knife, a large and vulgar instrument, from his pocket, consisting of a pointed piece of iron, that folded into a horn handle, and seemed to have descended to him as an *heir-loom*, from the epoch of William Rufus.

\* The Hon. Horace Walpole.

As to his dinner, it chiefly consisted of poultry; and on a turkey he was accustomed to feast, during five successive days, the four quarters affording as many meals, and the body serving for *quintidi*. In fine, he was economical, and even penurious as to his meals; for his great object ever had been, to save all for the gratification of his ruling passion. In respect to this, his appetite was sometimes indiscriminate, and almost insatiable. He would borrow, run in debt, give a note of hand, or even a bond and judgment, to please his eye or solace his fancy; perhaps, also, the supposed admiration and applause of mankind, entered somewhat into the account.

Of an afternoon, Mr. Jennings was accustomed to indulge in Twining's finest Hyson, drunk out of a very small cup, of the manufacture of China. This like his two former, were solitary meals: I, indeed, by way of particular favour, was once, and once only, honoured with a regular invitation to spend the afternoon with him, an event which doubtless varied the dull uniformity of a long series of twenty years!

The old gentleman appeared so apprehensive of spoliation, as to become his own jailor; and, like some of the ancient despots, while revelling in the possession of all that was desirable to him on earth, he was at times miserable amidst his various enjoyments. I question if Tiberius himself was more suspicious. Although a man of undoubted courage, and most invincible spirit, he was alike apprehensive of the midnight robber and the domestic purloiner. It was this that converted his drawing room into a *den*; for it so abounded in dirt, that it was impossible to sit down without being surrounded by a cloud of dust. The chairs, the pictures, the *triclinium*, nay the very cabinets, that contained his precious gems, jewels, and shells, were all covered and besmeared with smoke, dirt, and rubbish. The ashes were never emptied from his grate, until so full that this operation became an act of necessity. On the advantages to be derived from this latter circumstance, he could at times be eloquent. It was unnecessary to call a servant, either by day or night, to light his fire, as by placing a live coal in the centre, the collection of dirt and cinders per-

formed the office of vestal virgins, and thus conferred the powers of *ignition* at any time. In this manner he assured me, he kept in a fire for a whole fortnight, during a severe winter; and thus it became unnecessary ever to entrust his key to a domestic.

He was to the full as particular in respect to his candles as his coals. The very idea of tallow, as has been already hinted, disgusted him; but then a single taper only was lighted up at a time: and as he excelled in demonstrations of this kind, it was not difficult for him to prove, that, taking in the consideration of greater duration, it was economy, as well as gentility, to burn one wax candle instead of two "composed of mutton suet."

In respect to medicine, he entertained great faith in the operation of drugs; but he had recourse to none except the most potent; such as opium and corrosive sublimate. On recovering from a long illness, in 1815 or 1816, he told me that "if he had not helped his medical practitioner, death must have ensued;" but I was next day told by the gentleman alluded to, "that if he had complied with all his patient's vagaries, the continuance of life would have been impossible!"

In his sayings he affected to be epigrammatic; but although sometimes strong and powerful, he not unfrequently proved coarse and vulgar. He hated all entertainments—in short, every species of expense, that did not administer to the ruling passion of his own heart. Hospitality by him was denominated vile "feasting," and his low and indelicate definition of a feast was "the conversion of gold into excrement."

To a person who relied on dreams, and was prone to superstition, he observed to his face, "that he was capable of believing in the divinity of a Newfoundland bi—ch!"

On being asked by the writer of this article respecting his first interview with his old school-fellow, the governor-general of Bengal, on his return from India, he stated the following anecdote with much *naïveté*: "On our meeting," observed he, "after the usual salutations, I accosted him in the same

frank and open manner as was usual with me when we were at Westminster together: 'My dear Hastings! is it possible that you should have been such a great rascal during your government in Asia as Burke says, and the whole world is beginning to believe you are?' 'I assure you truly, Jennings,' was the reply, 'that although sometimes obliged to turn *rascal* for the Company, I was never one for myself!'

Death usually puts a conclusion to all singularities; yet in his case, he determined to prove singular even then. Abhorring the idea of his corpse being consigned to the cold *earth*, he resolved to have recourse to the ancient rite of *cremation*. This was a circumstance so generally known, that his neighbours supposed he had an oven within his house, for the express purpose of reducing his body to ashes.

Having pitched upon a gentleman in the vicinity, he frankly opened his mind to him; and demanded if he had courage enough, despising all vulgar prejudice, to stand by and see his body publicly consumed by fire? "Yes," replied his neighbour, "I will burn your corpse on the centre arch of Battersea bridge, if you so desire; and that, too, in spite and in sight of all the proprietors." "How is that possible?" demanded Mr. Jennings, "Nothing more easy," rejoined the other, "it is only placing your corpse in a car, dressed in a pitched shirt, and surrounded by combustibles — I myself shall apply the match soon after the body leaves the place of your present abode, and when you arrive mid-way, between the two toll-houses, I intend to pull out the lynch-pins. You can then consume at leisure, and without danger, notwithstanding it is a wooden bridge."

This whimsical proposition was instantly agreed to in the presence of myself, and his Venus was to be the reward. But a coolness between the \* parties afterwards ensued; and the

\* Mr. Jennings having asked this gentleman for the loan of 300*l.*, he frankly replied that the money was at his service, provided it was to be expended for any useful purpose. A few worthless pictures were then shown, and to that appropriation the gentleman in question objected. On this the *quondam* owner of Chillaby, casting a most significant look at his Venus, instantly exclaimed, in the true Newmarket style; "Very well; but pray do recollect, that I am off my *speed* about burning."



mother of love being seized in execution, was actually sold for a vile price, in the presence of the indignant legatee.

His goddess has been already mentioned, but it remains to be told, that for the first six months after obtaining possession of such a prize, she was constantly seated, during dinner, at the head of his table, with two footmen, in laced liveries, behind; while the most costly viands were placed in succession before her, by way of oblation to her immortal charms!

In respect to his religion, no one ever entertained more enlightened, or more exalted ideas of a Deity, than the subject of this memoir. He firmly believed in the existence, wisdom, and infinite power of a great and beneficent Being, and in the genuine language of a Naturalist, was accustomed to observe, in the true spirit of conchology, "that it was impossible even to contemplate a *cockle-shell* without being sensible of a first cause." In other matters he, doubtless, differed with the Established Church, and although he frequented no place of public worship, (perhaps on account of his advanced age,) yet he assuredly agreed with, although he did not appertain to, the Unitarians.

The writer of this article bears a willing testimony, in express opposition to the received opinions of many of his visitors and neighbours, that no one was ever a more sincere believer, and that upon principle, than Mr. Jennings. Indeed his ideas on this subject approached the *sublime*; for he could be truly eloquent on the bounty, goodness, and beneficence of a Deity; and as to his existence he called in the aid not only of astronomy, and all the sciences, but of nature herself, to demonstrate the necessity of a first cause.

Here again, however, the singularity of his opinions would burst forth; for although he abhorred the idea of a Divinity restricting his bounties to the elect; yet he himself conceived the possibility of an *exclusive* system. There was something, however, noble in this, and it partook in no degree of fanaticism; although it might have approached to impiety. Merit and education with him being every thing, he seemed to suppose that those who were brutish and uncultivated must be

unworthy of the attention of a Divinity; and that for such a resurrection would prove unnecessary, and a heaven intolerable. To exemplify this, he, as usual, recurred to one of his *strong sayings*, for when any doubt of his theory originated in the minds of his hearers, he was accustomed to demand, "If it was possible for a clown, who swung all day on a gate, and bolted fat bacon, to have a rational and immortal soul?\*" and whether such a fellow was worth saving?" Perhaps this idea might not have been original. Something similar, indeed, is to be found in the works of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, with which he was well acquainted. That celebrated female, while mentioning the follies of a silly waiting woman belonging to one of her friends, boldly ridicules the pretensions of Mrs. Abigail to eternity: "Voilà un bel âme, pour être immortel!"

As to politics, of late years, he was sometimes a whig and sometimes almost a republican. He constantly read the Morning Chronicle: he preserved an unbroken series of that paper for the benefit of others, and seemed to take double delight in it while in goal. Of Buonaparte, with the truly original zeal and bias of a real *amateur*, he was accustomed to observe, "that the world was not aware of his reach of thought; he enjoyed a high taste for all that was excellent; and his conquests were not for the purposes of gratifying a vulgar ambition, but in order to acquire every thing that was desirable in the fine arts, and thus render France rich in *vertù*!" The Ex-Emperor at one period was his hero, but of late years he began to talk very rationally about "the balance of Europe," "the loss of independence on the part of foreign nations;" "the great and undue preponderance of France;" and the certainty "that civil liberty could never flourish beneath the usurping despotism of a military government."

\* Since the text was penned, the writer has had recourse to his notes, and finds the following memorandum, which is here transcribed *verbatim*:

"Mr. J., a great believer in the existence of a Deity; but he did not think that the Almighty would admit every thick-skulled blackguard, who eat fat pork, and swung all day on gate, to go to heaven!"

As an author, the best idea will be formed of this very extraordinary man, from the following analysis of his works. It may be necessary to premise, however, that the volume here recurred to was never published, a few copies only having been printed at his own expense, and distributed among his friends.

“Summary and free Reflections, in which the great outline only and principal Features of several interesting Subjects are impartially traced and candidly examined.” Printed in the year 1798, and presented to the writer of this article, Nov. 29, 1808. The author, while he approves, evidently imitates “old Montaigne’s plain, simple method of setting down his thoughts on detached subjects, just as they accidentally presented themselves, without any regular pursuit. He laments that “equivocal definitions,” in respect to religion, had laid the way open to schism,” and exclaims, “How glorious and unassailable had Mahomet’s religion been, if delivered as it was probably first conceived, uninfluenced by the accessorial *after-views* of fixing it by conquest, as suggested by his relations, and unsullied by those pious frauds and popular allurements which, though calculated to secure its truly rapid establishment, made it ultimately but too obnoxious to the severe but just censure of imposture !” He blames Spinoza for having warped Lucan’s *Jupiter est quod cunque vides*, by a literal translation, into his “Atheistical principle.” “This sentiment,” adds he, “does but proclaim the workmanship, and the sublime contrivance of the Deity, manifestly evident in every object that we see; by what, in fact, but miracle! permanent miracle is the minutest atom attracted? ‘Observe,’ says Cato \*, ‘investigate attentively, avail yourselves of that wondrous faculty, what God has given you; every object that you behold cannot but be then *oracular*.’ — For his *Dixit semel nos centibus auctor — Quicquid scire licet*

\* “His army, fatigued and marching through the desert (of Africa), were persuading him to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, before whose temple they were then passing, which Cato indignantly denies to do in the above terms; deemed by Lucan “worthy of the oracle itself.”

—applies equally to that reasoning intellect exclusively imparted to the human race: by whose *aggregate* observations, on the whole creation (if made with industry and with disprejudice), every thing necessary or proper for us to know is by experience, inference, and analogy, sufficiently discoverable.” He concludes this article by testifying his belief in a “probationary state, and in the consistency of an impartial and benign Deity.”

“An Endeavour to prove that Reason is alone sufficient to the firm establishment of Religion; which must, on Principles of Faith, be ever precarious.” We beg leave to decline both quotation and commentary, with the single exception of the following passages: “that it is his object permanently to demonstrate the expediency of virtue;” “to establish the eternal existence of an Omnipotent Being,” and “the pleasing prospect of a future state, as the due and infallible reward of virtuous actions.”

This tract appears to have been first printed in 1771; to this he added a postscript in 1785, in which it was conceded, “that some established mode of worship was, at least, politically necessary; and, at the same time, he warmly condemns self-murder, and concludes with a prayer, in which the Deity is fervently invoked, “to strengthen and confirm in my mind, steady habits of fortitude, benevolence, discernment, and integrity; that I may, through this, be rendered dear to my fellow-creatures, contented with myself, and at the last, I humbly hope, acceptable to Thee.”

Many of the reasons for his belief in a Deity, are deduced from a knowledge of astronomy, and natural history.

“To repine at the frailty of human nature, or the accidents that await us even from our birth,” observes he, “is unjust, since the very essence of protection involves the alluring influence of the passions, under the sole direction of *reason*, which must imply free will; in manifest opposition to mere brutal instinct; for without the existence of *worldly evil*, and strong temptations to error, there could have been no merit in moral rectitude.”

“Physical Enquiries into the powers and properties of Spirit, and how far, by analogical inferences resulting from experimental and natural phenomena, the human intellect may be enlarged to attain to any natural conception of Omnipotence.

“Quæsi ut animis, sic oculis videre possumus.”

CICERO.

This is a tract which might be read with edification by the most pious Christian, as it is chiefly written to demonstrate the existence of the soul, in opposition to the “atheistical doctrine of chance.”

After an attack on a celebrated French philosopher, the author points out the sublime advantages of an *hereafter*, to the learned and the scientific, who might be there enabled to continue those glorious lucubrations and researches they had on earth delighted in; “what mortal,” adds he, “more deserving, of such a luxurious destination, than that very author who, though so extensively conversant with the stupendous works of the Divinity, and so laborious a promulgator of universally beneficent doctrines, could yet (however effectually he has secured his earthly reputation from it,) indulge the gloomy one of *annihilation*? Peace be, however, to Voltaire’s illustrious ashes, his investigating spirit is, by this time, pleasingly undeceived; and is, perhaps, actually traversing the realm of science, with the congenial spirits of those Trajans, Antonines, Julians, Lockes, and Newtons, which were here the virtuous objects of his almost idolatrous celebration.

“Per quos, nunquam jurare pudebit.”

“Cursory Remarks on Infancy and Education.” This is written somewhat in the manner and spirit of Rousseau’s treatise on the same subject. He is of opinion with him; “that education cannot begin too early, if properly adapted to the age of the pupil; but,” adds he, “you should, above all things, inculcate, even from his infancy, the most incorruptible attachment to *habits of ingenuousness*; you will then be infallibly sure of success in any endeavour,

not with Rousseau, cunningly to trick your pupil, but by convictive arguments to persuade him, fairly and openly like Socrates, into the most ardent pursuit of rectitude, and the steady practice of virtue."

"Thoughts on the Rise and Decline of the Polite Arts." After a review of the different schools of Greece and Rome, he observes, "that whatever aptitudes to genius" may be allowed to exist in human nature, "yet no one can be truly said to have been ever born with it." He loudly complains of the interested views of those parents, who, without consulting the capacities of their children, always prefer those professions seemingly most lucrative.

This circumstance alone, we are told, produces indifference on the part of patrons, and the decline of the arts; "the Egyptians," adds he, "who, by a mistaken law, were compelled to pursue the same profession with their fathers, in despite of their indefatigable perseverance in the way of sculpture, have never produced one tolerable statue, bas-relief, gem, or medal, although the quantity they have left behind them is without number."

"The Fifth Canto of Dante's *Inferno*." This translation, which is in blank verse, is a first attempt at poetry. The preface is dated September 13, 1794.

"Observations on the Advantages attending an elevated and dry Situation." Our author observes, that it was the general practice of our ancestors (if we except a few old castles, and those mostly on the banks of rivers) to fix their country houses in valleys: Mr. Jennings prefers hills, and assigns his reasons, both in respect to health and prospect; the avoidance of damp, turbid water, &c. He affirms that the Venetians, whose houses are built on piles in the midst of the sea, "are better supplied with fresh water, and that of a better quality, than those of any town he ever met with." Every opulent family, besides public wells, has one, at least, in either its court-yard or landing room; that part which is under ground, is formed of the figure of an egg with its small end downwards; it is constructed of stones cemented with terrass-mor-

tar, while the top is closed with an arch, up to a circular opening of three feet diameter, which is capped with an ornamental stone. At some distance is a small under-ground cistern, that first receives the water in pipes, as it comes from the house top; and between these two receptacles is a curved drain or channel, filled with different loose beds of sand, gravel, chalk, &c. so as to filter, cleanse, and even impregnate the element.

At Pisa, in Tuscany, he beheld subterraneous granaries, which might be used with great convenience on eminences in England; they are built after the form of the Venetian wells. The damp is effectually kept out by straw. He also recommends an under-cellar, such as he saw beneath the house of Salvator Rosa at Rome, both for cooling wines, and serving all the purposes of an ice house, "it needs no double door, is at home, and is not in sight."

"Considerations on the destructive Application of Gold." This has but little novelty to recommend it.

"A Free Enquiry into the enormous increase of Attornies, &c." "The English nation, as is evident from the unremitting tenour of historical facts, has continued, by some strange fatality, even from the obscure times of its Druid thralldom, under the influence of some oppressive members. It was, for many centuries prior to our first William's invasion, conquest-ridden. Very soon after that famous period, it was still more heavily priest-ridden. Under the Tudor family it was most egregiously tyrant-ridden. For a short space, it was pretty roughly ridden by fanatics; and I am sorry to observe, that its present inhabitants have but too long groaned under the ruthless lash, and oppressive load of lawyers."

"*Postscript.*" Under this head, we have a proposition for the abolition of rotten boroughs, the transfer of the votes to the counties, and universal suffrage. On the first of these subjects he boasts of having made a convert of Junius, who had attended to his writings, in the celebrated letter to Mr. Wilkes. The two last articles contain "Thoughts on the Instability

of Empires;" and a "Letter to Mr. Pitt," dated in 1783, containing objections to his particular mode of reform.

Meanwhile, amidst his various occupations, as an antiquary, a virtuoso, a collector, and an author, the health and constitution of Mr. Jennings began visibly to decline, while his fortune became daily deteriorated, and his personal liberty placed in continual jeopardy. After my return from an excursion to the continent, I learned that he had been frequently arrested; and on calling to see him, I discovered that there was an execution in the house, and also learned that he himself, was a prisoner in the King's Bench.

On this, I immediately drove thither, and on my applying to the turnkey at the inner gate, I was there taught, that a prison, like death, levels all distinctions. His name was only known by an inspection of the register; and his place of abode so imperfectly designated, that I was put to great inconvenience to discover it. At length, I was referred to a fat short mulatto man, about fifty-six years of age; he was a kind of *Maitre d'Hotel*, and occasionally let out his apartment by the night, to lodgers. This civil gentleman assured me that my old friend, now upwards of eighty years of age, and who had been educated in the very bosom of luxury, had actually spent the preceding night on a hard mattress, placed on the floor for his reception. He then kindly conducted me to a narrow staircase, and, after announcing the number, courteously withdrew.

On ascending to the top, I tapped gently, and on being desired to enter, by a well known little shrill voice, I there beheld Mr. Jennings seated in the midst of a motley crew, so as to exhibit a scene which would have afforded a fine subject for the pencil of Hogarth. Here were two or three inferior tradesmen's wives, and two workmen, who, as appeared from their clothes, had just returned from white-washing the jail. A roasted pig was placed in the middle, and an elderly lady did the honours of the table, while one little child

laced its elbow on the antiquary's plate, and another dipped its hand into his pot of porter.



I was received with great kindness, accompanied by many expressions of gratitude for my visit, and with an air and manner, that singularly contrasted with every thing around us. He said he was happy, and seemed, indeed, to be perfectly *at home*; although he rather discomposed some of the company by terming them "ladies," and addressing each in turn by the term of "Madam."

On my taking leave, I pressed him to accept of some wine; but he declined the offer, observing, "that he had brought two bottles of fine Jamaica rum into the jail with him, and that some of the rapsallions had stolen the contents, and replaced them with small beer."

On the 25th of April, 1816, I repaired once more to St. George's Fields, and found him lodged in a room, or rather cellar, on the pavement story. The apartment had a groined roof, composed of brickwork; there were two beds, one for himself and another for his nurse; an Irish edition of Junius, along with his old Koran, were placed on one of these, while he himself was busily employed in reading a morning paper with perfect ease, and great facility, without recurring to spectacles. A live parrot, a breeding cage without birds, a stool, for a table, and two old chairs, constituted not only the furniture, but the whole contents of this apartment.

On this occasion, I was accompanied by an officer, who had served in the same regiment of guards with himself, after the interval of half a century. On learning from me, that his family was connected by marriage with the Margravine of Anspach, he exhibited a wonderful instance of the undecayed powers of memory. "Tell Her Serene Highness, my cousin, from me," said he, "that soon after our return from Paris, she borrowed one of the quarto volumes of Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia, which, between ourselves," added he, in an under voice, "I never could get back, and as it may be mislaid, I shall most readily accept of a haunch of venison in return."

My companion was so much fascinated with the company of the old gentleman, that he actually expressed a most earnest wish "to be a prisoner along with him, for three months, in order to hear all his stories."

On my third and last visit, being alone, he called me aside, and after significantly observing "that he had still some small matters, saved from the clutches of the harpies, demanded 'if I wanted any thing?'" On being answered in the negative, he replied, "You are then the only one who ever visited me in this prison without a motive!" It is to be hoped that this remark was far too general and indiscriminate to be literally correct.

It would be unpardonable here to omit a circumstance that occurred at this interview. I had often before heard of Mr. Jennings's birth and pretensions; but he was now full of his claims to two titles, and these two titles were no less than the ancient earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury! He had even made some little progress in the prosecution of this affair, as will be seen from the following summary, extracted from a document which was drawn up officially, and with due adherence to form, by a professional man, whom I believe to have been the late Mr. Troward, who was fully competent to the task.

*Abbreviated Petition of Henry Constantine Jennings, Esq.*

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, with a copy of the official communication from the Secretary of State for the Home department.

"That your petitioner's ancestor, William de Montacute, in consideration of his eminent services, was by royal charter, dated xith of Edward III. advanced to the dignity of Earl of Salisbury, with remainder of the said earldom to the heirs general of his body.

"From this William descended Thomas, the 4th Earl of Salisbury of his name and family, who, having no issue male, Eliza, his only daughter, became his heir general to the said earldom of Salisbury — this lady married Richard, second son to Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland, which Richard, by letters patent, dated the xx of Henry VI., had continued to him, and to the heirs of the said Alice, his wife, the afore-said earldom of Salisbury.

“ To him succeeded Richard, his son and heir, which Richard, in the life-time of his father, having married Anne, only sister and heir of the whole blood of Henry Beauchamp, the last earl of that surname, Earl of Warwick, bore that title, which, by letters patent, dated the xxvii of Henry VI., was granted to him and the said Lady Anne, his wife, and in the succeeding year confirmed to them and the heirs of the said Anne in tail general.

“ By virtue of these several letters patent the said last-named Richard Nevill was Earl of Warwick and of Salisbury, with remainder of those honours to his heirs general. He left only two daughters, his co-heirs, viz. Isabella and Anne: but the issue of Anne afterwards failing, Margaret, the daughter of Isabella, became eventually the sole heir general; which Margaret, on her petition, exhibited in parliament the vth of Henry VIII., was allowed, and had confirmed to her the title of Countess of Salisbury.

“ From this Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, your petitioner is lineally descended, and stands, as he considers, in the particular character of the only heir capable of inheriting the before-named dignities of Earl of Salisbury and Earl of Warwick, viz. as heir general at law of the aforesaid Margaret, only surviving daughter and at length heiress of Isabella, eldest daughter, and afterwards sole heir of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, son and heir of Alice, daughter and heir of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, great grandson and heir of William, the first earl. Wherefore your petitioner, &c. &c.”

“ Whitehall, 25th Feb. 1815.

“ His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, is graciously pleased to refer this petition to Mr. Attorney-General, to consider thereof, and report his opinion what may be properly done therein; whereupon His Majesty's further pleasure will be declared.

(Signed)

SIDMOUTH.”

It may be readily conceived that strict confinement, a small apartment, and bad air, were but little favourable to a man of a feeble constitution, stricken in years, borne down by calami-

ties, and afflicted with disease. Luckily he did not suffer from pecuniary privations; the supplies he obtained from Jamaica, although unequal, were regular, and his necessities were liberally supplied by Mr. Hibbert, an opulent and respectable merchant in the city, to whom the produce of the plantation was consigned. He also found means soon after to obtain the *rules* of the Bench, by which privilege he removed to lodgings in Belvedere-Place, where he finally closed his eyes, at half-past three o'clock on Wednesday, February 7, 1819, at the advanced age of 88.

Mr. Jennings had two wives and two daughters. One of the latter, who died in her infancy, was frequently lamented by him: "as a most admirable animal!" His widow was a Miss Nowel, or Noel, a lady of very considerable fortune and great accomplishments. It was this alliance, we believe, that rescued him from the sudden misery occasioned by his unfortunate speculations on Chillaby, and enabled him again to gratify the ruling passion of his life, by a new and singular collection; which, like the former, however, was doomed to be sacrificed beneath the hammer of the auctioneer. This, indeed, was the third, lost to himself and family; for a small one, valued at 3000*l.*, was destroyed by fire during his residence in Essex.

Notwithstanding all his difficulties, our connoisseur still possessed a considerable, although an uncertain income. His one-sixth share of a capital plantation at Montego Bay, in the island of Jamaica, in 1804, produced 1000*l.*; but in 1806 and 1807, no more than 500*l.* He was accustomed to average his annual income at 600*l.* per ann., and he always received a considerable portion of this in advance, partly for subsistence, and partly to make purchases, of whatsoever struck his fancy.

The fate of Mr. Jennings has been eminently singular, and the flux and reflux, the ever-varying ebbs and flows of his fortune appear so strange as to be almost paradoxical. At an early period of his life we behold him mingling in the crowd of wealthy pilgrims who repaired to Italy about half a

century ago, to pay their devotions at the shrine of taste and *vertù*. He returned at length, like old Tradescant \*, with shells, statues, minerals, gems, and the finest specimens of natural history in his train.

After keeping company with foreign princes and princesses he associates with the first nobility in his native country, and then, by a fatal reverse, spends some years of his life, partly within the walls of a provincial, and partly of a town gaol. Recovering, as if by magic, from his embarrassments, we next behold him emerging above the horizon of distress, and throwing away a second fortune at Newmarket, where he became the dupe of titled and untitled jockeys.

Sudden and inevitable ruin now seems to overtake him, and he is apparently lost for ever; but, lo! in the course of a very short period, he once more revisits the circles of fashion, and sits enthroned in a temple, surrounded by the most rare and brilliant productions of nature, with pictures, and statues, and gems, and shells and books, and goddesses, perpetually before his eyes! Again the scene changes: the wand of some envious necromancer seems to be waved over his venerable head; and the acquisitions of ages, the wreck of his estates, every thing most precious in his eyes; his very "household goods" are all seized by the unholy hands of vile bailiffs, and he himself, after languishing for two or three years in a prison, at length dies unheeded, unattended, and almost unknown, within the purlieu of the King's Bench.

I am aware that the fate and history of this old gentleman, however sad and singular, are almost insusceptible of a moral lesson in the present times. To be a *virtuoso* is not the passion of the age in which we live; and even Newmarket itself, seems happily to have lost many of its attractions. Who would now sell his family mansion to buy shells and butterflies, and coins and petrifications? Who would now exchange many thousands of fair paternal acres for medals, and bronzes,

\* John Tradescant is said to have been the first person who formed a collection in this kingdom; and the *Museum Tradescantianum* was long famous.

and statues, and heathen deities? And who, in the present *knowing* age, would purchase a Chillaby, and stake thousands on the progeny of an unknown and untried Arabian?

In his person Mr. Jennings was rather under the middle size. Of late years he was *bent like a bow*; but even amidst the vigour of youth he must have been accounted somewhat diminutive. His complexion was fair; his features were small, and perhaps a little effeminate, and he still retained some faint remains of colour in those cheeks where the roses had formerly bloomed. On the whole, he appears to have been once sprightly, agreeable, and genteel.

His eyes were weak, and when agitated by any subject, not unfrequently suffused with tears. Yet his sight was strong, and that, too, in no ordinary degree, for he preserved the power of reading, unassisted with any aid, to a very extended old age. When near ninety, he scorned to recur to glasses, and two hours in the morning were constantly consumed in perusing a newspaper, not at all conspicuous, either for the largeness or the excellence of the type.

To the contemplation of natural history he was greatly addicted; and in more than once instance his fame is connected both with it and the fine arts.\* On a rare shell in his collection his name has been conferred\*; and both his horse and his mastiff have each in their turn, afforded a *cognomen* for himself.

We shall conclude the life of this extraordinary man, by observing, that among his other peculiarities, he respected medicine, but hated physicians, — he admired the ancient common law of England, but held all the modern practitioners in abhorrence; — and, finally, that while he deemed religion necessary for a state, he affected to detest priests of all orders, classes, and denominations whatsoever.

\* *Cypræa Jenningsia.*

## No. XIII.



JOHN PLAYFAIR, F.R.S., F.A.S., EDINBURGH.

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF  
EDINBURGH, &c.

**T**HE city of Edinburgh, which is justly entitled to be denominated the “Northern Capital,” is said also of late years to aspire to the appellation of the “Modern Athens.” That she has made rapid strides in the career of science is evident to all; and it is only sufficient to peruse the long and splendid list of her poets, philosophers, and historians to form a high opinion of their various and almost unrivalled excellence. It ought not to be forgotten, too, that all this is a new creation. Under the name of “the guide town” she formerly displayed a fiery and intolerant zeal, such as the more prudent persecution of the church of Rome would not have been disposed openly to avow. Had Servetus escaped from Geneva he would have been burnt at the Market-cross of Edinburgh!

To this spirit of intolerance were superadded high feudal notions; the doctrine of hereditary indefeasible right was maintained with a rigorous hand; and the same laws of descent that regulated a cow-house or a pig-stye were supposed equally applicable to a whole nation. This engendered and kept up an attachment to the house of Stuart. Scotland always received the fugitive princes with open arms, and spent her best blood, and forfeited her largest estates in support of a dynasty unworthy to reign. The projected union of the crowns and kingdoms under Anne proved but the signal of a new rebellion; and the northern side of the Tweed for a long time profited but little by the event that gave rise to it. Adumbrated by an alliance with a greater and richer kingdom, the people remained for more than half a century in a torpid state; neither commerce nor agriculture, nor any of the arts that embellish human life, flourished; the sciences were not as yet cultivated; and polite literature was not only neglected, but almost unknown.

At length, towards the middle of the last century, a new epoch arose; and the field of Culloden, where was obtained the maiden victory of a prince unused to conquest, put an end to chieftainship, hereditary jurisdiction, and personal slavery. Civilisation now made rapid strides; property was augmented, commerce and manufactures encouraged; the fisheries promoted; luxury began to be known for the first time, and every thing appertaining to social life, was rendered more useful and more elegant. The schools and universities partook of the genius of the age, and sent forth better and more enlightened scholars. The capital, so long the seat of intolerance and superstition, began to take the lead in the encouragement of learning; the arts and sciences were cultivated with enthusiasm; and a new race of men arose. A Hume, a Robertson, a Ferguson, Adam Smith, Black, Blair, &c. &c. at last appeared upon the scene. More liberal notions respecting law, religion, and liberty, prevailed; the fine arts began to rear their heads; and Edinburgh might then indeed boast, that in respect to great names she emulated almost any of the states



of Greece; not in arms, indeed, but in arts; not in warriors, but in men of letters and men of science.

John Playfair, who is so justly entitled to be considered as one of these, was the eldest son of the Rev. James Playfair, a clergyman of the established church of Scotland. He was born in 1749, at the *manse*, or parsonage-house of Benvie, a small and obscure village in the vicinity of Dundee. His father, who was an excellent scholar, appears to have qualified him for the university; and he was accordingly sent to St. Andrew's, where he obtained a *bursary*, at the early age of fourteen. His genius immediately pointed towards the *exact sciences*; and Dr. Wilkie, the author of the "Epigoniad," then professor of mathematics, and a man remarkable for unaffected candour, became first his friend, and then his companion. The good-natured and kind-hearted Earl of Kinnoul, whom we have already mentioned with respect, in the life of Dr. William Thomson, who then happened to be chancellor of his university, acted the part of a patron. At this nobleman's seat at Duplin he was a frequent guest, and there he saw and conversed with good company during the vacation.

At the early age of nineteen he earned his first *honorarium*, by making calculations for the Edinburgh Almanack\*; such even now was the opinion of his talents, that when surveyors differed as to the admeasurement of land, he was generally chosen arbitrator: in short, his decision was final and conclusive.

Meanwhile he proceeded in his studies at St. Andrew's, where he now attended the Divinity class, and at length obtained a licence to preach. This empowered him to perform an act of filial piety: for he was thus enabled occasionally to assist his father, who, although not old, yet was frequently disabled by disease from fulfilling the duties of his station.

Amidst his various avocations, young Playfair found time to visit Edinburgh, which then, as now, truly merited the praise of being a "hot-bed of genius!" He even became a

\* This work was then published by the widow Chapman.

member of the "Speculative Society," which had then been but a few years in existence; notwithstanding which it was rapidly advancing into celebrity. At this period, too, he formed many friendships with men of merit and eminence, some of which proved highly beneficial to him in his future prospects in life.

In 1772 he lost his father, who left behind him a numerous family, consisting of seven children, of whom the three youngest sons, and two daughters, were under fifteen years of age. Towards the latter Mr. Playfair henceforth exercised all the paternal duties, and is even supposed to have declined marriage\* with a view to be the better enabled to educate and support them.

The living of Benvie being now vacant, Lord Gray, of Gray, who had the alternate presentation, nominated the subject of this memoir to be minister. It was contended, however, that the gift *pro hac vice* appertained to the king; and this produced a contest that lasted a year. At length the General Assembly, through the influence of Dr. Robertson, the historian, by whom he was known and beloved, decided in his favour. On this he retained and supported at the *manse* a part of that family which he had adopted as his own. The latter part of his mother's life, too, was at once cheered and blessed by finding an asylum under the roof of such a son. She enjoyed this happiness in common with two of her daughters, until a few years since, when she died, at the age of 80.

Soon after his settlement in an obscure country parish, as a member of the established church of Scotland, an event occurred in the life of Mr. Playfair that contributed not a little to confer novelty, variety, and even affluence, during the latter part of his existence. Mr. Ferguson, of Raith, a gentleman of considerable landed property and influence, made a liberal offer to the subject of the present memoir, to educate his two sons,

\* See Dr. Johnson's Travels to the Hebrides. Mr. Playfair was not insensible to the charms of female society; and in after-life took great delight in and was not a little flattered by the attentions of a lady, now the wife of the greatest chemist of this age.

the present General Ferguson and his brother. This produced a resignation of his clerical preferment and a removal to Edinburgh. While there, his merits were so well appreciated that, when Professor Ferguson resigned the chair of Moral Philosophy to Mr. Dugald Stewart, Mr. Playfair was very properly selected by the magistrates, who are the patrons, to preside over the mathematical class of the university. Soon after this, on the establishment of the Royal Society by charter from the king, he was also nominated to be secretary. He contributed many valuable papers to the transactions of this Northern Institution, and in 1796, published his "Elements of Geometry." This was followed by a new edition of Euclid; but truth forbids us to pronounce its superiority over that of his countryman, the ingenious Simpson.

At a later period he was busily employed in the generous task of defending the character, and displaying the merits of a man, whose discoveries and experiments have thrown a lustre over the first of our Northern Universities.

When Professor Leslie was about to be appointed to a chair, a clergyman full of zeal, but devoid of discretion, accused him before the patrons of having once uttered certain doctrines in a lecture, *approximating to materialism*. Several of his brethren joined in the persecution; but the subject of this memoir, who had been bred to and obtained preferment in the church of Scotland, victoriously refuted the charge. It was the triumph of genius over superstition!

In 1812, appeared his "Outlines of Natural Philosophy;" and soon after this he enjoyed the pleasure of beholding a nephew, whom he had adopted, obtaining the prize for and carrying into execution the plan for building the New College at Edinburgh.

When the supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica was first meditated, at Edinburgh, the most eminent men in that city were selected to compose the different articles of which the new volumes consisted. Accordingly, on the appearance of the first, it was preceded by a masterly dissertation from the pen of Dugald Stewart, F. R. S. S. "on the progress of

Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, since the revival of letters in Europe." To another portion of this work was appended "a General View of the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science, since the revival of letters in Europe, by John Playfair, Professor of Natural Philosophy, &c. &c." The only praise aspired to by this very learned man in the work alluded to is that arising "from clearness and precision." In the course of his dissertation he not only gives a history of the sciences, but also biographical sketches of the men by whom they were either cultivated or repressed. On those occasions he expresses himself with great freedom and boldness; as well as with a very considerable share of ingenuity. "Tycho Brahe," he observes, "was of a noble family in Denmark; he belonged to a class in society, elevated, in the opinion of that age, above the pursuit of knowledge, and jealous of the privilege of remaining ignorant with impunity." He animadverts, with a just severity, on the jealousy with which the court of Rome watched the progress of improvement; and remarks "how grievous it is to observe the head of the Christian Church, in that and the succeeding age, like the *Anarch old* in Milton, reigning in the midst of darkness, and complaining of the encroachments which the realm of light was continually making on his ancient empire." The whole of this composition exhibits an equal degree of ability in investigation, and of candour and liberality in respect to the various inductions and conclusions; if on one hand it contains but little original matter, (and originality was not here aimed at,) on the other it abounds with hints and instructions for the youthful student, and, by supplying one general unbroken line of scientific knowledge, cannot fail to be eminently useful to all.

In 1816, when approaching his 78th year, the subject of our memoir repaired, on a scientific mission, to Italy, and spent a considerable time in visiting and examining the Alps. Soon after his return to Edinburgh, our Professor's health began to decline; notwithstanding which, he at this very period made some scientific discoveries, concerning the rays of the sun.

At length, while enjoying a high degree of fame, and a very extensive reputation, Mr. Playfair was snatched away from his pupils, his friends, and the learned and scientific circle of society around him; being seized with a disease that proved fatal; this was a *suppression*, the self-same malady with which he had often been afflicted before, but it now returned with increased violence, towards the beginning of last summer. He died like a philosopher. Finding his end approach, on the evening of the 19th of July, our amiable Professor assembled his sisters and nephews around his bed-side, and after a succinct statement of his affairs, he took his leave of them with great affection, notwithstanding the agonies endured by him. About two next morning the pain wholly ceased, and he soon after expired, in presence of his afflicted relatives, on July 20, 1819, at the mature age of 70. Thus ceased to exist the celebrated John Playfair. In religion he was a Presbyterian; by profession and practice a philosopher. He cultivated *the exact sciences* with success; and towards the middle of his life turned his attention towards *geology*, a pursuit, much of which is as yet conjectural. He was led to this attachment, partly by an introduction to the celebrated Mr. Whitehurst, and partly by his defence of the Huttonian Theory. At the age of near three-score and ten he visited Italy and the Alps to obtain new information respecting his favourite theory.

We have already mentioned that his last effort led to some discovery relative to the rays of light:—this reminds us of Bacon, towards the termination of his life, alighting from his carriage to examine and make some experiments on snow.

“The funeral of this much regretted scholar, took place on Monday, July 26, in Edinburgh, and the ceremony presented a solemn and mournful spectacle. The students of the Natural Philosophy Class went to Professor Playfair’s house, Albany-Row, from the College-yard, at half past one o’clock. The Professors of the University met at Dr. Gregory’s at the same time, and walked in procession, preceded by their officers, bearing their insignia reversed, and covered with

crape, to the Professor's house, where they were in readiness to receive the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City. The Members of the Royal Society, the Astronomical Institution, Royal Medical Society, &c. were accommodated in the different apartments of the house of this friend of genius and learning.

" At half past two, this affecting procession advanced from the Professor's house, up Duke-Street, through St. Andrew's Square, and along Prince's Street and the Regent's Bridge, to the Calton Burying-ground, in the following order:—

Mutes.

The Students of the University who had attended his Class.

Baton-men, Ushers, and Mutes.

THE BODY,

Supported by Pall-bearers and Relatives.

The Magistracy and Town Council in their Robes,  
preceded by the City Officers and the City Macers with their  
Insignia reversed, covered with crape.

The Principal and Professors of the University.

The Royal Society.

The Astronomical Institution.

The Royal Medical Society, with a numerous train  
of Friends and Acquaintances.

The whole procession went four and four, and it is supposed the train of mourners consisted of not less than five hundred persons.

" All the windows in the streets through which the funeral passed were filled with ladies, seemingly anxious to view so large an assemblage of learning and talent. On reaching the burying ground, the gentlemen, who preceded the corpse, opened two and two, and uncovered as it passed to the place of interment.

" After the funeral, a meeting of his former pupils who had been attending it, was held in the College, when it was unanimously resolved, that they should testify the high admiration which they entertained of his genius and worth, by some tribute to his memory, and the deep regret which they feel for

an event that has deprived not only the University, but the nation to which he belonged, of one of its brightest ornaments. They accordingly appointed a committee to consult with others who may have the same object in view, and in general to take such steps as may enable a future meeting, when more of the students shall be in town, to come to a particular and final resolution."

The following "Account of the Character and Merits of the late Professor Playfair," has been attributed to the pen of a celebrated man of letters, in the Northern Metropolis.

"It has struck many people, we believe, as very extraordinary, that so eminent a person as Mr. Playfair should have been allowed to sink into his grave in the midst of us, without calling forth almost so much as an attempt to commemorate his merit, even in a common newspaper: and that the death of a man so eminent and so beloved, and, at the same time, so closely connected with many who could well appreciate and suitably describe his excellencies, should be left to the brief and ordinary notice of the daily obituary. No event of the kind certainly ever excited more general sympathy; and no individual, we are persuaded, will be longer or more affectionately remembered by all the classes of his fellow-citizens: and yet it is to these very circumstances that we must look for an explanation of the apparent neglect by which his memory has been followed. His humbler admirers have been deterred from expressing their sentiments by a natural feeling of unwillingness to encroach on the privilege of those, whom a nearer approach to his person and talents rendered more worthy to speak of them; while the learned and eloquent among his friends have trusted to each other, for the performance of a task which they could not but feel to be painful in itself, and not a little difficult to perform as it ought to be, or, perhaps, have reserved for some more solemn occasion that tribute for which the public impatience is already at its height.

"We beg leave to assure our readers, that it is merely from anxiety to do *something* to gratify this natural impatience, that we presume to enter at all upon a subject to which we are perfectly aware that we are incapable of doing justice; for of Mr.

Playfair's scientific attainments, of his proficiency in those studies to which he was peculiarly devoted, we are but slenderly qualified to judge: but, we believe, we hazard nothing in saying that he was one of the most learned mathematicians of his age, and among the first, if not the very first, who introduced the beautiful discoveries of the latter continental geometers to the knowledge of his countrymen, and gave their just value and true place in the scheme of European knowledge to those important improvements by which the whole aspect of the abstract sciences has been renovated since the days of our illustrious Newton. If he did not signalise himself by any brilliant or original invention, he must, at least, be allowed to have been a most generous and intelligent judge of the achievements of others, as well as the most eloquent expounder of that great and magnificent system of knowledge which has been gradually evolved by the successive labours of so many gifted individuals. He possessed, indeed, in the highest degree, all the characteristics both of a fine and powerful understanding, at once penetrating and vigilant, but more distinguished, perhaps, for the caution and sureness of its march, than for the brilliancy or rapidity of its movements, and guided and adorned through all its progress by the most genuine enthusiasm for all that is grand, and the justest taste for all that is beautiful in the truth or the intellectual energy with which he was habitually conversant.

“ To what account these rare qualities might have been turned, and what more brilliant or lasting fruits they might have produced, if his whole life had been dedicated to the solitary cultivation of science, it is not for us to conjecture; but it cannot be doubted that they added incalculably to his eminence and utility as a teacher; both by enabling him to direct his pupils to the most simple and luminous methods of inquiry, and to imbue their minds, from the very commencement of the study, with that fine relish for the truths it disclosed, and that high sense of the majesty with which they were invested, that predominated in his own bosom. While he left nothing unexplained or unexplained to its proper place in the system, he took care that they should never be perplexed by petty diffi-



culties, or bewildered in useless details, and formed them sometimes to that clear, masculine, and direct method of investigation, by which, with the least labour, the greatest advances might be accomplished.

“ Mr. Playfair, however, was not merely a teacher; and has fortunately left behind him a variety of works, from which other generations may be enabled to judge of some of those qualifications which so powerfully recommended and endeared him to his contemporaries. It is, perhaps, to be regretted, that so much of his time, and so large a proportion of his publications, should have been devoted to the subjects of the Indian astronomy, and the Huttonian theory of the earth. For though nothing can be more beautiful or instructive than his speculations on those curious topics, it cannot be dissembled that their results are less conclusive and satisfactory than might have been desired; and that his doctrines, from the very nature of the subjects, are more questionable than we believe they could possibly have been on any other topic in the whole circle of the sciences. To the first, indeed, he came under the great disadvantages of being unacquainted with the Eastern tongues, and without the means of judging of the authenticity of the documents which he was obliged to assume as the elements of his reasonings; and as to the other, though he ended, we believe, with being a very able and skilful mineralogist, we think it is now generally admitted, that that science does not yet afford sufficient materials for any positive conclusion; and that all attempts to establish a theory of the earth must, for many years to come, be regarded as premature. Though it is impossible, therefore, to think too highly of the ingenuity, the vigour, and the eloquence of those publications, we are of opinion, that a juster estimate of Mr. Playfair's talent, and a truer picture of his genius and understanding, is to be found in his other writings; in the papers, both biographical and scientific, with which he has enriched the transactions of our Royal Society; his account of De Laplace, and other articles which he is understood to have contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*; the outlines of his lectures on natural philosophy; and, above all, his introductory discourse to the supplement to the

*Encyclopædia Britannica*, with the final correction of which he was occupied up to the last moments that the progress of his disease allowed him to dedicate to any intellectual exertion.

“ With reference to these works, we do not think we are influenced by any national or other partiality, when we say that he was certainly one of the best writers of his age; and even that we do not now recollect any one of his contemporaries who was so great a master of composition. There is a certain mellowness and richness about his style, which adorns without disguising the weight and nervousness which is its other great characteristic; a sedate gracefulness and manly simplicity in the more level passages, and a mild majesty and considerate enthusiasm where he rises above them, of which we scarcely know where to find any other example. There is great equability too, and sustained force in every part of his writings. He never exhausts himself in flashes and epigrams, nor languishes into tameness or insipidity; at first sight you would say that plainness and good sense were the predominating qualities; but, by and by, this simplicity is enriched with the delicate and vivid colours of a fine imagination; the free and forcible touches of a most powerful intellect; and the lights and shades of an unerring and harmonising taste. In comparing it with the styles of his most celebrated contemporaries, we would say that it was more purely and peculiarly a written style, and therefore rejected those ornaments that more properly belong to oratory. It had no impetuosity, hurry, or vehemence—no bursts or sudden turns or abruptions, like that of Burke; and though eminently smooth and melodious it was not modulated to an uniform system of solemn declamation like that of Johnson, nor spread out in the richer and more voluminous elocution of Stewart; nor still less broken into the patchwork of scholastic pedantry and conversational smartness which has found its admirers in Gibbon. It is a style, in short, of great freedom, force, and beauty; but the deliberate style of a man of thought and of learning; and neither that of a wit throwing out his extempores with an affect-

ation of careless grace, nor of a rhetorician, thinking more of his manner than his matter, and determined to be admired for his expression, whatever may be the fate of his sentiments.

“His habits of composition, as we have understood, were not perhaps, exactly what might have been expected from their results. He wrote rather slowly, and his first sketches were often very slight and imperfect, like the rude chalking of a masterly picture. His chief effort and greatest pleasure was in their revisal and correction; and there were no limits to the improvement which resulted from this application. It was not the style merely, or indeed chiefly, that gained by it. The whole reasoning, and sentiment, and illustration, were enlarged and new modelled in the course of it, and a naked outline became gradually informed with life, colour, and expression. It was not at all like the common finishing and polishing to which careful authors generally subject the first draughts of their compositions, nor even like the fastidious and tentative alterations with which some more anxious writers essay their choicer passages. It was, in fact, the great filling in of the picture, the working up of the figured web on the naked and meagre woof that had been stretched to receive it; and the singular thing in this case was, not only that he left this most material part of his work to be performed after the whole outline had been finished, but that he could proceed with it to an indefinite extent, and enrich and improve as long as he thought fit, without any risk either of destroying the proportions of that outline, or injuring the harmony and unity of the design. He was perfectly aware, too, of the possession of this extraordinary power, and it was partly, we presume, in consequence of it, that he was not only at all times ready to go on with any work in which he was engaged without waiting for favourable moments or hours of greater alacrity, but that he never felt any of those doubts and misgivings, as to his being able to get creditably through with his undertaking, to which, we believe, most authors are occasionally liable. As he never wrote upon any subject of which he was not perfectly master, he was secure against all blunders in the substance of

what he had to say, and felt quite assured, that if he was only allowed time enough, he should finally come to say it in the very best way of which he was capable. He had no anxiety, therefore, either in undertaking or proceeding with his tasks, and intermitted and resumed them at his convenience, with the comfortable certainty that all the time he bestowed on them was turned to good account, and that what was left imperfect at one sitting might be finished with equal ease and advantage at another. Being thus perfectly sure both of his ends and his means, he experienced in the course of his compositions none of that little fever of the spirits with which that operation is so apt to be accompanied. He had no capricious visitings of fancy, which it was necessary to fix on the spot, or to lose for ever; no casual inspiration to invoke and to wait for; no transitory and evanescent lights to catch before they faded. All that was in his mind was subject to his control, and amenable to his call, though it might not obey at the moment; and while his taste was so sure, that he was in no danger of overworking any thing that he had designed, all his thoughts and sentiments had that unity and congruity, that they fell almost spontaneously into harmony and order; and the last added, incorporated, and assimilated with the first, as if they had sprung simultaneously from the same happy conception.

“ But we need dwell no longer on qualities that may be gathered hereafter from the works he has left behind him. They who lived with him mourn the most for those which will be traced in no such memorial; and prize far above those talents which gained him his high name in philosophy, that personal character which endeared him to his friends, and shed a grace and dignity over all the society in which he moved. The same admirable taste which is conspicuous in his writings, or rather the higher principles from which that taste was but an emanation, spread a similar charm over his whole life and conversation; and gave to the most learned philosopher of his day the manners and deportment of the most perfect gentleman. Nor was this in him the result merely of good sense and good temper, assisted by an early familiarity with good

company, and consequent knowledge of his own place and that of all around him; his good breeding was of a higher descent, and his powers of pleasing rested on something better than mere companionable qualities. With the greatest kindness and generosity of nature, he united the most manly firmness, — and the highest principles of honour, — and the most cheerful and social dispositions, with the gentlest and steadiest affections. Towards women he had always the most chivalrous feelings of regard and attention, and was, beyond almost all men, acceptable and agreeable in their society, — though without the least levity or pretension unbecoming his age or condition: and such, indeed, was the fascination of the perfect simplicity and mildness of his manners, that the same tone and deportment seemed equally appropriate in all societies, and enabled him to delight the young and the gay with the same sort of conversation which instructed the learned and the grave. There never, indeed, was a man of learning and talent who appeared in society so perfectly free from all sorts of pretension or notion of his own importance, or so little solicitous to distinguish himself, or so sincerely willing to give place to every one else. Even upon subjects which he had thoroughly studied, he was never in the least impatient to speak, and spoke at all times without any tone of authority; while, so far from wishing to set off what he had to say by any brilliancy or emphasis of expression, it seemed generally as if he had studied to disguise the weight and originality of his thoughts under the plainest form of speech and the most quiet and indifferent manner: so that the profoundest remarks and subtlest observations were often dropped, not only without any solicitude that their value should be observed, but without any apparent consciousness that they possessed any. Though the most social of human beings, and the most disposed to encourage and sympathise with the gaiety and joviality of others, his own spirits were in general rather cheerful than gay, or at least never rose to any turbulence or tumult of merriment; and while he would listen with the kindest indulgence to the more extravagant sallies of his younger friends, and prompt them by the heartiest appro-

bation, his own satisfaction might generally be traced in a slow and temperate smile, gradually mantling over his benevolent and intelligent features; and lighting up the countenance of the sage with the expression of the mildest and most genuine philanthropy. It was wonderful, indeed, considering the measure of his own intellect, and the rigid and undeviating propriety of his own conduct, how tolerant he was of the defects and errors of other men. He was too indulgent, in truth, and favourable to his friends, and made a kind and liberal allowance for the faults of all mankind, except only faults of baseness or of cruelty, against which he never failed to manifest the most open scorn and detestation. Independent, in short, of his high attainments, Mr. Playfair was one of the most amiable and estimable of men, delightful in his manners, inflexible in his principles, and generous in his affections; he had all that could charm in society or attach in private; and while his friends enjoyed the free and unstudied conversation of an easy and intelligent associate, they had at all times the proud and inward assurance that he was a being upon whose perfect honour and generosity they might rely with the most implicit confidence, in life and in death; and of whom it was equally impossible that, under any circumstances, he should ever perform a mean, a selfish, or a questionable action, as that his body should cease to gravitate or his soul to live.

If we do not greatly deceive ourselves, there is nothing here of exaggeration or partial feeling, and nothing with which an indifferent and honest chronicler would not concur. Nor is it altogether idle to have dwelt so long on the personal character of this distinguished individual: for we are ourselves persuaded that this personal character has almost done as much for the cause of science and philosophy among us as the great talents and attainments with which it was combined, and has contributed in a very eminent degree to give to the better society of this our city that tone of intelligence and liberality by which it is so honourably distinguished. It is not a little advantageous to philosophy that it is in fashion; and it is still more advantageous, perhaps, to the society which is led to

confer on it this apparently trivial distinction. It is a great thing for the country at large—for its happiness, its prosperity, and its renown, that the upper and influencing part of its population should be made familiar, even in its untasked and social hours, with sound and liberal information, and be taught to know and respect those who have distinguished themselves for great intellectual attainments. Nor is it, after all, a slight or despicable reward for a man of genius to be received with honour in the highest and most elegant society around him, and to receive in his living person that homage and applause which is too often reserved for his memory. Now, those desirable ends can never be effectually accomplished, unless the manners of our leading philosophers are agreeable, and their personal habits and dispositions engaging and amiable. From the time of Hume and Robertson, we have been fortunate in Edinburgh in possessing a succession of distinguished men; who have kept up this salutary connexion between the learned and the fashionable world; but there never, perhaps, was any one who contributed so powerfully to confirm and extend it; and that in times when it was peculiarly difficult, as the lamented individual of whom we are now speaking; and they who have had the most opportunity to observe how superior the society of Edinburgh is to that of most other places of the same size, and how much of that superiority is owing to the cordial combination of the two aristocracies, of rank and of letters—of both of which it happens to be the chief provincial seat—will be best able to judge of the importance of the service he has thus rendered to its inhabitants, and through them, and by their example, to all the rest of the country.

In thus mournfully estimating the magnitude of the loss we have sustained, it is impossible that our thoughts should not be turned to the likelihood of its being partly supplied by the appointment of a suitable successor. That it should be wholly supplied, even with a view to the public, we confess we are not sanguine enough to expect. That our professor of mathematics and natural philosophy should have been, for more than 30 years, not only one of the most celebrated mathema-

ticians, but one of the finest writers and one of the highest-bred gentlemen of his age, is a felicity which it is out of all calculation that we should so soon experience again : but, in an age when—very much by his efforts and example—several men of great and distinguished eminence in science can be found, and, as we understand, have already proposed themselves for the vacancy, we do trust that the chair of Mr. Playfair, or any other chair which his death may ultimately leave vacant, will not be bestowed upon a person of questionable or even ordinary attainments.

The object of such an appointment is, no doubt, to instruct youth in the elements of knowledge ; but it is, notwithstanding, a most gross mistake to suppose that a capacity to teach these elements is a sufficient qualification for the office of an Edinburgh professor. If it were so, every second lad who had passed creditably through such a class in one year, might be properly appointed to teach it the year after. Nobody, however, will maintain any thing so absurd as this ; and though we fear that the duties of those who are vested with the right of nomination have not always been correctly understood, no such monstrous misconception can require to be obviated. We have unfortunately in this country but too few desirable situations wherewith to reward the successful cultivators of the abstract sciences. The prizes in their lottery are lamentably few ; and it would be the height of injustice not to let them have them all. If it be of importance to a country (and it is in every respect of the very first importance) that it should possess men eminent for genius and science, it is of importance that it should encourage them ; and it is obvious that no encouragement can be so effectual, so cheap, and so honourable, as sacredly to reserve, and impartially to assign, to them, in proportion to their eminence, those situations of high honour and moderate emolument to which it is their utmost ambition to aspire, and which gives them not only the rank and dignity they have so worthily earned, but the means of cultivating and diffusing, with great additional effect, that very knowledge to which their years have been devoted. On this ground alone,



the duty of giving to men distinguished for science, and devoted to it, the few scientific professorships that are established among us, appears to be absolutely imperative, on the score of mere justice, as well as of national advantage; on that of national honour, it is not of less cogency. We have once more made ourselves a name as a scientific nation in every quarter of the world; and by means of Playfair and Leslie, the Scottish philosophy of physics is nearly as well known all over the civilized world as the Scottish philosophy of mind. The Edinburgh school of science now maintains a rivalry with the most celebrated of those in England; and among Foreign philosophers, the name of Playfair is more honoured and better known than that of any of the *alumni* of Cambridge. But is this honour, do we think, to be maintained by placing in his chair an obscure or an ordinary teacher? a man capable of instructing boys in Euclid and algebra, and fit enough to teach mathematics or natural philosophy in a provincial academy, but without knowledge of the higher parts of the science, and without genius to enlarge its boundaries, or to grapple, at least, with their resistance? While there are men of eminence and genius to be found, and Scotch bred men, too, of this description, willing and anxious, as they are able, to maintain the honour of their country and their school, we trust that no such disgrace will be put on Scotland and Edinburgh on this critical and important occasion.

If lower and more selfish considerations were wanting, they, too, all lead to the same conclusion. An ordinary school-master cannot, in fact, teach ordinary schooling so well as a superior person; but, even if he could, he would never attract the same resort of pupils; and the celebrity of the teachers, therefore, is a necessary condition of the greatness of the classes, the increase of the emoluments, and the general resort of families for education—to spend money and pay taxes within the extended royalty.

Perhaps the patronage of such chairs might have been better placed than in the magistracy of Edinburgh. But we are inclined to augur well of their conduct on this occasion. For a

good while back they have discharged this important part of their duty uprightly and well; and seem to have a proper sense of the importance of resisting all sinister influence in those interesting nominations. At this moment, too, they probably feel that they have not much popularity to spare; and, upon the whole, we have much more fear of their being misled than of their going voluntarily astray. The few considerations we have now thrown out may help, perhaps, to keep them right; and, indeed, they can scarcely go wrong, if they remember, first, that a person qualified to teach the elements of science, but without a name, or the chance of acquiring a name amongst its votaries, is not fit to be placed at the head of the whole science of Scotland, by being appointed to the first, or the second, scientific professorship in this metropolitan university; and secondly, that the chair now to be filled is a chair of science, and ought not to be made the reward of any other than scientific eminence.

## No. XIV.

JAMES WATT, Esq.

D. C. L. F. R. S. OF LONDON AND EDINBURGH, &amp;c. &amp;c. &amp;c.

**JAMES WATT**, the great improver of the steam-engine, and one of the most eminent mechanical philosophers, if not the most eminent, of modern times, was born at Greenock in 1736.

His grandfather, Thomas Watt, had settled there after the civil wars, and was a mathematician of considerable talent. He had two sons, John and James, of whom the elder adopting the pursuits of his father settled at Glasgow, and is the author of what is believed to be the first survey of the river Clyde. James, the father of the celebrated man whose life we are attempting to sketch, followed the business of a merchant at Greenock with success and reputation for many years, and greatly promoted the improvement of his native town; but some losses and declining health induced him to retire from business, a few years before his death.

His son James, the subject of this essay, was from infancy of a very delicate constitution, and was with difficulty enabled to go through the common course of education of the public schools of Greenock. But that very circumstance of ill health probably led to those habits of retirement and reflection, which accompanied him through life, and to which his great discoveries may be ascribed. Little is known of his earlier years, but it is not true, as has been elsewhere stated, that he ever served an apprenticeship. After leaving school, he resided in his father's house, and the examples of his grandfather and uncle would no doubt add to the natural bias of his mind for mechanical and physical pursuits. At the age of 18, he went to London, and placed himself under the tuition of an eminent ma-

thematical instrument-maker, with whom he only remained a twelvemonth, the infirm state of his health compelling his return to Greenock. In 1757, when he was only 21 years of age, he was appointed mathematical-instrument maker to the University of Glasgow, with apartments in the college, at which he resided until his marriage in 1763 or 1764 with his maternal cousin, Miss Miller, when he removed to the town, and carried on the business of a mathematical-instrument maker. In 1764 and 1765, he invented his well known improvement upon *the principle* of the steam-engine.

From about this time, he entered upon the business of a civil engineer, and planned and surveyed many public works and canals, which were among the first, if not the very first, in North Britain. Of these, the Monkland Canal was executed under his direction, and his lines have since been nearly followed in the Crinan and Caledonian Canals. To aid him in these surveys he invented a new micrometer and a machine for drawing in perspective.

He had given an interest in his improvement upon the steam-engine to his friend Dr. Roebuck, but it was not until 1769, that he reduced it to practice at Kennel near Burrowstoneness, where the Doctor then resided, and took out letters-patent for his "Method of lessening the Consumption of Steam and Fuel in Fire-Engines." Dr. Roebuck's losses in other concerns caused a suspension of proceedings, but he having agreed in 1774 to transfer his interest to Mr. Boulton of Soho near Birmingham, Mr. Watt removed from Glasgow to Soho. In the subsequent year, he obtained an act of parliament prolonging his patent for 25 years, and the business of maturing steam-engines was commenced by the firm of Boulton and Watt.

In 1780, he invented a method of copying letters and other writings, by a machine and process which bear his name, and which, simple as it is, would from its extensive utility alone have given celebrity to any other person.

The direct application of the steam-engine to mills and machinery requiring a rotatory motion had from the first been an

object of his attention, and in the years 1781, 1782, 1784, and 1785, he carried into execution a series of improvements, the most essential of which he secured by successive patents, including, among several other inventions, the rotatory motion of the sun and planet wheels, the expansive principle, the double engine, the parallel motion, and the smokeless furnace.

The mines in Cornwall, and many other of the deepest mines in the kingdom, had before this period adopted his *reciprocating* engines, which were attended with a saving of two-thirds of the fuel consumed by those before in use, besides having a much more perfect mechanism, and being less liable to accidents and repairs. But it is to the perfection to which Mr. Watt brought his *rotative engines*, and which existed in those first erected by him about the year 1784 for Mr. Whitbread's brewery and for the Albion Mills, in which latter he and Mr. Boulton were partners, that we are to ascribe the origin of that system of machinery which has produced so rapid an extension of our manufactures, population, and wealth.

From 1792 to 1799, his attention was almost entirely engrossed by the defence of his patent rights against numerous invaders, and after repeated verdicts, establishing the novelty and utility of his inventions, these rights were finally confirmed in the latter year by the decision of all the Judges of the Court of King's Bench.

During this period he was led by the illness of a daughter, to consider the subject of the medical application of the factitious airs, and contrived different apparatuses for that purpose, the description of which were published in Dr. Beddoe's pamphlets on pneumatic medicine in those years.

In 1800, upon the expiration of his Act of Parliament, he withdrew from business, resigning his share to his sons; but his mind still continued actively employed upon subjects of mechanical and physical science, and the amusement of the last period of his life consisted in contriving and executing a machine for carving busts and other objects of statuary, which he left in a state of great perfection.

His first wife died in 1773, leaving him a daughter and a

son, the latter of whom survives him, having long been at the head of the business he established. He was married a second time, to Miss M'Gregor, of Glasgow, by whom he had a son and a daughter, both of whom he had the misfortune to lose, but not until his son, Mr. Gregory Watt, had given proof of the most splendid talent, of which his paper upon Basalt in the *Philosophical Transactions*, will prove a lasting memorial.

Mr. Watt was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in 1784, of the Royal Society of London in 1785, and a corresponding member of the Batavian Society in 1787. In 1806, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, was conferred upon him by the spontaneous and unanimous vote of the Senate of the University of Glasgow; and in 1808, he was elected first a corresponding member, and afterwards foreign member of the National Institute of France.

His naturally infirm health had suffered much by the exertions of his mind during the period of his inventing and carrying into execution his great improvements on the Steam Engine, but by continual temperance and good management, and a thorough knowledge of his own constitution, which he treated with much medical skill, it improved as he advanced in age, and with faculties little impaired, he reached his eighty-fourth year; when, after a short illness of debility, rather than of pain, he expired at his own house, on the 25th of August, of the present year, 1819.

Here follows his character as drawn up by one of his own countrymen.

"Death is still busy in our high places; and it is with great pain that we find ourselves called upon, so soon after the loss of Mr. Playfair, to record the decease of another of our illustrious countrymen, and one to whom mankind has been still more largely indebted. Mr. James Watt, the great improver of the steam-engine, died on the 25th ultimo, at his seat of Heathfield, near Birmingham, in the 84th year of his age.

"This name, fortunately, needs no commemoration of ours; for he that bore it survived to see it crowned with undisputed

and unenvied honours; and many generations will probably pass away before it shall have 'gathered all its fame.' We have said that Mr. Watt was the great *improver* of the steam-engine; but, in truth, as to all that is admirable in its structure, or vast in its utility, he should rather be described as its *inventor*. It was by his inventions that its action was so regulated as to make it capable of being applied to the finest and most delicate manufactures, and its power so increased as to set weight and solidity at defiance. By his admirable contrivances, it has become a thing stupendous alike for its force and its flexibility; for the prodigious powers which it can exert, and the ease, and precision, and ductility, with which they can be varied, distributed, and applied. The trunk of an elephant that can pick up a pin or rend an oak is nothing to it. It can engrave a seal, and crush masses of obdurate metal like wax before it; draw out, without breaking, a thread as fine as gossamer, and lift a ship of war, like a bauble, in the air. It can embroider muslin, and forge anchors, cut steel into ribands, and impel loaded vessels against the fury of the winds and waves.

"It would be difficult to estimate the value of the benefits which these inventions have conferred upon the country. There is no branch of industry that has not been indebted to them; and in all the most material, they have not only widened most magnificently the field of its exertions, but multiplied a thousand fold the amount of its productions. It is our improved steam-engine that has fought the battles of Europe, and exalted and sustained, through the late tremendous contest, the political greatness of our land. It is the same great power which now enables us to pay the interest of our debt, and to maintain the arduous struggle in which we are still engaged, with the skill and capital of countries less oppressed with taxation. But these are poor and narrow views of its importance. It has increased indefinitely the mass of human comforts and enjoyments, and rendered cheap and accessible all over the world the materials of wealth and prosperity. It has armed the feeble hand of man, in short, with

a power to which no limits can be assigned, completed the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter, and laid a sure foundation for all those future miracles of mechanic power which are to aid and reward the labours of after generations. It is to the genius of one man, too, that all this is mainly owing; and certainly no man ever before bestowed such a gift on his kind. The blessing is not only universal, but unbounded; and the fabled inventors of the plough and the loom, who were deified by the gratitude of their rude contemporaries, conferred less important benefits on mankind than the inventor of our present steam-engine.

This will be the fame of Watt with future generations; and it is sufficient for his race and his country. But to those to whom he more immediately belonged, who lived in his society and enjoyed his conversation, it is not perhaps the character in which he will be most frequently recalled, most deeply lamented, or even most highly admired. Independently of his great attainments in mechanics, Mr. Watt was an extraordinary, and in many respects a wonderful man. Perhaps no individual in his age possessed so much and such varied and exact information, had read so much, or remembered what he had read so accurately and so well. He had infinite quickness of apprehension, a prodigious memory, and a certain rectifying and methodising power of understanding, which extracted something precious out of all that was presented to it. His stores of miscellaneous knowledge were immense, and yet less astonishing than the command he had at all times over them. It seemed as if every subject that was casually started in conversation with him, had been that which he had been last occupied in studying and exhausting; such was the copiousness, the precision, and the admirable clearness of the information which he poured out upon it without effort or hesitation. Nor was this promptitude and compass of knowledge confined in any degree to the studies connected with his ordinary pursuits. That he should have been minutely and extensively skilled in chymistry and the arts, and in most of the branches of physical science, might perhaps have been conjectured; but it



could not have been inferred from his usual occupations, and probably is not generally known, that he was curiously learned in many branches of antiquity, metaphysics, medicine, and etymology, and perfectly at home in all the details of architecture, music, and law. He was well acquainted too with most of the modern languages, and familiar with their most recent literature. Nor was it at all extraordinary to hear the great mechanician and engineer detailing and expounding, for hours together, the metaphysical theories of the German logicians, or criticising the measures or the matter of the German poetry.

His astonishing memory was aided, no doubt, in a great measure, by a still higher and rarer faculty — by his power of digesting and arranging in its proper place all the information he received, and of casting aside and rejecting as it were instinctively whatever was worthless or immaterial. Every conception that was suggested to his mind seemed instantly to take its place among its other rich furniture, and to be condensed into the smallest and most convenient form. He never appeared, therefore, to be at all incumbered or perplexed with the *verbiage* of the dull books he perused, or the idle talk to which he listened; but to have at once extracted, by a kind of intellectual alchemy, all that was worthy of attention, and to have reduced it for his own use, to its true value and to its simplest form. And thus it often happened that a great deal more was learned from his brief and vigorous account of the theories and arguments of tedious writers, than an ordinary student could ever have derived from the most faithful study of the originals; and that errors and absurdities became manifest from the mere clearness and plainness of his statement of them, which might have deluded and perplexed most of his hearers without that invaluable assistance.

It is needless to say, that with those vast resources, his conversation was at all times rich and instructive in no ordinary degree; but it was, if possible, still more pleasing than wise, and had all the charms of familiarity, with all the substantial treasures of knowledge. No man could be more social in his

spirit, less assuming or fastidious in his manners, or more kind and indulgent towards all who approached him. He rather liked to talk, at least in his latter years; but though he took a considerable share of the conversation, he rarely suggested the topics on which it was to turn, but readily and quietly took up whatever was presented by those around him, and astonished the idle and barren propounders of an ordinary theme, by the treasures which he drew from the mine which they had unconsciously opened. He generally seemed, indeed, to have no choice or predilection for one subject of discourse rather than another, but allowed his mind, like a great cyclopedia, to be opened at any letter his associates might choose to turn up, and only endeavoured to select from his inexhaustible stores what might be best adapted to the taste of his present hearers. As to their capacity, he gave himself no trouble; and, indeed, such was his singular talent for making all things plain, clear, and intelligible, that scarcely any one could be aware of such a deficiency in his presence. His talk, too, though overflowing with information, had no resemblance to lecturing or solemn discoursing, but, on the contrary, was full of colloquial spirit and pleasure. He had a certain quiet and grave humour, which ran through most of his conversation, and a vein of temperate jocularitv, which gave infinite zest and effect to the condensed and inexhaustible information which formed its main staple and characteristic. There was a little air of affected testiness, and a tone of pretended rebuke and contradiction, with which he used to address his younger friends, that was always felt by them as an endearing mark of his kindness and familiarity, and prized accordingly far beyond all the solemn compliments that ever proceeded from the lips of authority. His voice was deep and powerful, though he commonly spoke in a low and somewhat monotonous tone, which harmonised admirably with the weight and brevity of his observations, and set off to the greatest advantage the pleasant anecdotes which he delivered with the same grave brow and the same calm smile playing soberly on his lips. There was nothing of effort indeed, or impatience, any more than of pride or levity, in his

demeanour: and there was a finer expression of reposing strength, and mild self-possession in his manner, than we ever recollect to have met with in any other person. He had in his character the utmost abhorrence for all sorts of forwardness, parade, and pretensions; and, indeed, never failed to put all such impostors out of countenance, by the manly plainness and honest intrepidity of his language and deportment.

In his temper and dispositions he was not only kind and affectionate, but generous, and considerate of the feelings of all around him, and gave the most liberal assistance and encouragement to all young persons who showed any indications of talent, or applied to him for patronage or advice. His health, which was delicate from his youth upwards, seemed to become firmer as he advanced in years: and he preserved, up almost to the last moment of his existence, not only the full command of his extraordinary intellect, but all the alacrity of spirit, and the social gaiety which had illuminated his happiest days. His friends in this part of the country never saw him more full of intellectual vigour and colloquial animation, never more delightful or more instructive, than in his last visit to Scotland in autumn, 1817. Indeed, it was after that time that he applied himself, with all the ardour of early life, to the invention of a machine for mechanically copying all sorts of sculpture and statuary, and distributed among his friends some of its earliest performances, as the productions of a young artist just entering on his 83d year.

This happy and useful life came at last to a gentle close. He had suffered some inconveniences through the summer; but was not seriously indisposed till within a few weeks of his death. He then became perfectly aware of the event which was approaching; and, with his usual tranquillity and benevolence of nature, seemed only anxious to point out to the friends around him the many sources of consolation which were afforded by the circumstances under which it was about to take place. He expressed his sincere gratitude to Providence for the length of days with which he had been blessed, and his exemption from most of the infirmities of age, as well as for

the calm and cheerful evening of life that he had been permitted to enjoy, after the honourable labours of the day had been concluded. And thus, full of years and honours, in all calmness and tranquillity, he yielded up his soul, without pang or struggle, and passed from the bosom of his family to that of his God!

He was twice married, but has left no issue but one son, long associated with him in his business and studies, and two grand-children by a daughter who predeceased him. He was a Fellow of the Royal Societies, both of London and Edinburgh, and one of the few Englishmen who were elected Members of the National Institute of France. All men of learning and science were his cordial friends; and such was the influence of his mild character and perfect fairness and liberality, even upon the pretenders to these accomplishments, that he lived to disarm even envy itself, and died, we verily believe, without a single enemy.

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## No. XV.

### SIR HENRY TEMPEST, BARONET.

OF TONGE, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

THE Tempests, like most of the ancient families in the kingdom, are of Norman origin. Their ancestor came over with William the Conqueror, and was rewarded with many manors in the north of England, for his services. The branch settled at Tonge, in the county of York, has always claimed precedence, on account of seniority; and it was not until after a lawsuit, followed by a compromise, that the great Tempest estates were declared to belong to that portion of the family, seated in the county Palatine of Durham, the heads of which have frequently sat in Parliament, as knights of the shire.

Sir Henry Tempest, of whom we now treat, was born in 1752. His father died at an early age, in consequence of which the care of his education devolved on his mother, a very sensible and amiable woman, who brought him up with great

care and attention. He was at first intended for the bar, and his name was accordingly entered on the records of the society of Gray's Inn. To this profession, he was probably excited by the brilliant career of Sir Fletcher Norton. From him, he received great attention and encouragement; and at this period, he imbibed certain rules and principles of law, which formed a prominent feature in his conversation, and acquired for him a great superiority in business during the remainder of his life.

After travelling over Europe, Sir Henry returned to his native country, and resided for some years in the neighbourhood of London. His predominant passion at this period of his life, was shooting: and so eager was he, in pursuit of partridges and pheasants, that accompanied with a friend, a servant, and a couple of pointers, he was accustomed to make *game excursions* all the way from his house in Essex, called the *Bee Hive*, to the remotest parts of Dorsetshire, and Devonshire.

In consequence of his marriage with Miss Lambert, a rich Herefordshire heiress, he settled at Hope-end park, in that county. Here he spent a large portion of his life, acting with great zeal and conscientiousness, in the discharge of his duty, as a magistrate. He next purchased an estate at Thorpe, in the vicinity of Egham, and, after being blessed for many years with most excellent health, was subsequently subjected to a variety of maladies, chiefly of a nervous kind. Both he and his friends hoped, at length, that he had perfectly recovered, and was like to attain a good old age; but he died suddenly in bed, on the morning of the 20th of January, 1819, in his 67th year.

In person, Sir Henry Tempest was tall and portly; and with a commanding aspect he united gentle and engaging manners. In his youth, he had been uncommonly handsome. He was replete with practical information, and his conversation exhibited not only good sense, but superior abilities. As he died without issue, he bequeathed his fortune to a family, related to him, whom he had cherished and respected during his life; and benefited and enriched at his decease.

## No. XVI.

AARON GRAHAM, Esq.

FORMERLY CHIEF MAGISTRATE AT NEWFOUNDLAND, AND LATE  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF CONVICTS.

THE life of this gentleman is well calculated to demonstrate what may be achieved in a free country like this, by talents, character, and assiduity. The subject of this memoir was born at Gosport, in Hampshire, in the year 1753. By constantly beholding one of the noblest dock-yards in the kingdom, and contemplating the fleets of a great maritime power, which then, as now, swayed the sceptre of the ocean, young Graham was early impressed with a strong and predominant passion for the naval service of his country. Accordingly, after receiving the rudiments of a good education, at a neighbouring school, he was enabled to gratify his wishes; having, at the early age of fourteen, been sent on board the *Sea-Horse*, commanded by Sir Thomas Paisley. In this vessel, where, we believe, he was first rated as a midshipman: our young adventurer was stationed for a considerable time on the coast of Africa; and, notwithstanding this species of service was not deemed either then, or now, of the most pleasant kind, he yet took such an insuperable attachment to the navy that he never abandoned it, until a late period of his existence, and even then, reluctantly, and not without a great struggle.

But it was to the *civil service* that he now dedicated his time and attention: he possessed great adroitness at business, was eminently skilled in figures, and soon acquired, by dint of study, a surprising facility in the higher branches of mathematics. It is but little wonder, therefore, that one so gifted should have obtained the rank of a purser while yet a very young man. At length, in consequence of his abilities, and

conciliating manners, he was appointed secretary to a Flag Ship, and, in this capacity, attained the friendship and confidence of all the Admirals with whom he sailed, no less by the amiableness of his disposition, than by a strict and scrupulous integrity, that invited investigation, and set suspicion at defiance.

In Newfoundland, at a period when that colony seemed to be entirely left to its own resources, Mr. Graham displayed a variety of talents, and occupied a number of offices, with no small degree of benefit to the settlers. As secretary to Admiral Edwards he superintended, in a certain degree, every thing *afloat*; while, as agent for prizes, he obtained a share in all the captures on this station during a large portion of the American war. When the island was threatened with invasion, he mustered the forces on shore, regimented the fishermen and inhabitants, and acted in the capacity of their commander! At the same time, all legal matters were cheerfully submitted to his consideration and judgment; for he presided during several consecutive seasons as Chief Justice, and displayed a skill and knowledge of the law that seldom falls to the lot of any but a professional man.

Having acquired the good opinion of those in power, on his return home he was employed in a variety of confidential situations by government. But he chiefly distinguished himself, by effecting a complete reform in respect to the *convict system*, and on that occasion uniting humanity with a knowledge of the world, formed a code for the regulation of this class of delinquents, that subsists, and, it is to be hoped, is acted upon until this day.

It is not to be denied, that the original plan for the government of these unhappy outcasts of society, and objects of its just punishment, was founded on the worst possible principles. Those to whom the management of that department had been entrusted, confiding in the *honour* of men, whose own immediate interests were at variance with their duties, appear to have placed the hulks under the immediate superintendence of the contractors. Over these, there seems to have been little or no check, or control whatsoever. Accordingly, those who

provided the provisions, were entrusted with the weighing, measuring, and distribution of the beef, cheese, bread, oatmeal, &c. It has been even asserted, that the managing and punishing of the convicts was also confided to their care, so that all complaint was stifled, and remonstrance became impracticable. The consequence was such as might have been easily foreseen. The sick list encreased daily, and deaths became frequent. At length, the mortality was so great, at Portsmouth, as to alarm the inhabitants of that town, and the neighbouring country. Mr. Wilberforce and several members of parliament, impressed solely by humanity, repaired thither for the express purpose of examining into the facts; and complaints of the most serious and alarming nature were made in the House of Commons.

A nobleman, who had been nominated to the Home Department, was at length induced to pay attention to the hulk system; and, luckily for the sake of humanity, Mr. Graham was pointed out as a proper person to make the necessary enquiries, and grant the requisite redress. He accordingly visited all the ports where convicts were employed; and after investigating the nature and extent of the complaints on the spot, delivered in a long and able report to the Secretary of State. Soon after this, he was appointed superintendant of this department, the whole of which was for many years submitted to his entire management, inspection, and control. The consequences were such as might have been expected from his talents and integrity. Provisions and clothes, of a proper quality, were supplied in abundance; the government of the prison ships was put under the management of persons totally unconnected with the contractors, whose conduct was besides checked by a variety of wholesome rules and restrictions. The numbers on the sick list immediately diminished; the deaths ceased to be alarming; discontent and despair no longer reigned on board the hulks; and, instead of avoiding investigation as before, every stranger of decent appearance, was at liberty to make his enquiries on the spot.



While on his death-bed, all his papers on this subject were confided by him to the author of his narrative, who has faithfully extracted from them the following documents: —

### I. *History of the Hulk Establishment.*

“After the troubles with America commenced, the transporting of convicts to the colonies, was of course interrupted, and it became necessary to find out other places to send them to, as well as to adopt other modes of disposing them. Accordingly, in 1779, an act (19 Geo. III. c. 74.) was passed, by which offenders, ordered for transportation, might be sent to parts beyond seas, whether such parts were in America or elsewhere. Power was also given to His Majesty, by the same act, to appoint three supervisors, who were to purchase ground and erect there two Penitentiary Houses, the one to contain six hundred male, and the other three hundred female convicts, who were to be kept to *hard labour* therein, and for the more severe punishment of notorious offenders, it was made lawful to confine convicts *liable to transportation*, on board the hulks, under the management of superintendants, who were to keep them to hard labour, in cleansing the Thames, for a term *not less than one year, nor more than five years*; or if sentenced to fourteen years transportation, *not exceeding seven years*—thereby making confinement on board the hulks, a specific punishment, distinct from transportation, and considering it more *severe* in the comparative ratio of seven to fourteen years. The offenders were to be fed and clothed by superintendants, (which was done in a most miserable manner for more than twenty years,) and, on being discharged, were to receive a sum of money, (not less than 1*l.* nor more than 3*l.*) with decent clothing, which in fact it has been the custom to give them; viz., at Portsmouth, to the amount of 1*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, and at Woolwich, from half a guinea to a guinea, each convict. This act to continue five years.

“In 1783, nothing seems to have been done in regard to erecting the two Penitentiary Houses; therefore, at the conclusion of the American war, which occurred before any plan

was formed for transporting offenders to Botany Bay, an act, the 24 Geo. III. c. 12. was passed *for one year only*, containing the same authority as before for the removal of convicts under sentence of transportation (or, having been capitally convicted and pardoned, conditionally, to be transported) to the *Hulks* or Houses of *Correction*.

“The intention, however, of making confinement in the hulks a specific and distinct punishment in place of transportation, by this act seems to have been given up; and the hulks thenceforward were only to be considered as a temporary place of confinement for these offenders *on their way to some part beyond the seas*, in pursuance of their sentence of transportation.

“During their stay on board the hulks, the overseers (by the late act called superintendants), were to feed and clothe them; and when the same could be done with safety, *permit them to labour under such directions, limitations, and restrictions, as His Majesty should order; but not to force them to work against their consent; and if they did work, to allow them half the profits of their labour, for their own use; and whether they worked or not, the time of their stay on board the hulks was to go in reduction of the whole term of their sentence of transportation*. In the meantime, they were to be treated as nearly to persons committed to Houses of Correction, as the nature of the case would admit.

“By this act also, if it was found inconvenient to transport offenders to the place mentioned in the sentence, authority was given to transport them to any other place beyond the seas, which, by the court, should be deemed proper.

“In 1784, the arrangement for transporting to Botany Bay was nearly completed; and, before the expiration of the last act another of the 24 Geo. III. c. 51. was passed for three years; and by this, *inter alia*, the Privy Council is authorised to transport to any place beyond sea, and the power of removing convicts to temporary places of confinement, either on land or water, is continued, they being kept while there *to hard labour*; and the time served on board the hulks, as by the last act, *to go in part of the term of transportation*.

“ In 1787, certain parts of this act, as well as that of the 19th Geo. III. c. 74., as related to the transportation of felons beyond seas, was renewed by an act 28 Geo. III. c. 24., and has since been continued by 34 Geo. III. c. 60., 39 Geo. III. c. 51., 42 Geo. III. c. 28., and 46 Geo. III. c. 28., which was to expire in 1813, and by which the convicts are now *confined, fed, clothed, and kept to hard labour, on board the hulks*, under the management of overseers appointed by His Majesty.

“ On a perusal of one of the foregoing acts of parliament (24 Geo. III. c. 51.), it will be seen that the legislature had abandoned the idea which was entertained by the 19 Geo. III. c. 74., of making hard labour on board the hulks a *specific punishment*, distinct from transportation, and of course could not mean that the convicts sent afterwards to them, should be made to serve therein the whole term of their transportation; because, in fact, according to the former ratio, this would be doubling the punishment to which they were sentenced.

“ A certain degree of hardship, therefore, accrued to those sentenced for life, and a still greater to the seven years' men, as it has of late been customary to select the fourteen years' men, and *lifers*, as they are called, to be sent to Botany Bay.

“ Hitherto but little had been done towards the establishment of the two penitentiary houses contemplated under the 19 Geo. III. c. 74., notwithstanding this measure had been so strongly recommended by the Finance Committee of the House of Commons in their 28th Report: so that the hulks, since the formation of the colony of New South Wales, seem to have been considered a proper temporary place of confinement for convicts, in their way from the different jails of the kingdom to that settlement, whither a number, both male and female, are annually transported.

But it ought not to be here omitted, that the above committee, in the Report just alluded to, condemn the hulk system altogether, chiefly on the evidence of Mr. Colquhoun, who points it out ‘as the principal cause of that corruption of morals which is the cause of every species of criminality.’ He

remarks at the same time, that ‘ he had seldom known an instance of an individual discharged from the hulks, who had ever returned to honest industry, but that the indiscriminate mixture of criminals which takes place in those establishments renders them a complete seminary of vice and wickedness ;’ adding, ‘ that in giving such a decided opinion against the system of the hulks, he would wish to be understood as not imputing the smallest blame to the contractors, the error being in the system, not in the management of it, and the evils arising from it must continue until a better mode is adopted, whatever the management may be.”

“ But all this originated out of the first plan, which was founded in the grossest ignorance of human nature, and thus laid the whole open to mismanagement, speculation, and corruption. By it the contractor was paid so much *per man per diem* for taking care of the convicts, without any express stipulation of what was to be done on his part, thus leaving them wholly and intirely to the discretion of men who acted at once as task-masters, overseers, victuallers, and clothiers, and whose interest it was to diminish every necessary to the utmost verge of human suffering. Not only had it been omitted to specify the *quantum* of victuals, drink, and clothing to be furnished, but instead of any check being put on the contractor, he himself was the sole person who appointed every officer and man belonging to the hulks, and these his *nominees* were the sole persons intrusted with the office of seeing the convicts fed, clothed, and obtain justice.

“ In consequence of this gross mismanagement, the public papers were replete with complaints, and the Secretary of State’s office was teased with remonstrances, while representations of most abominable and nefarious transactions took place in the House of Commons.”

At length, justly alarmed at a cry which in some respects seemed to be rational, the late Duke of Portland, in 1801, as already mentioned, most fortunately for his own character, as well as for the comforts of the unhappy convicts, selected Mr. Graham to enquire into and remedy the abuses. That gentleman

accordingly, after due investigation, pointed out the source of the evil. In consequence of his suggestions, the original contract was annihilated, and such is the difference that arises out of system, that a new one, containing a variety of specific and salutary regulations, being entered into, the original contractors conducted themselves with such propriety, that not a single complaint was made against them for a series of years.

In the beginning of 1802, new and commodious hulks were fitted up under the direction of Mr. Graham, and the appointment of the captains, officers, and guards was transferred to government. In consequence partly of this, and partly of the new regulations as to food and clothing, a degree of content and comfort were produced, that had hitherto been unknown on board the hulks. On his representations, an increase of pay was given to the officers and guards; while, to prevent imposition, all applications for the pardon of convicts were invariably subject to a report of their behaviour from the captain, through the inspector (Mr. Graham), to the Secretary of State's office. It was his decided opinion, that by way of encouragement to good behaviour on the part of those who have offended the laws of their country, that a certain number of them, when duly recommended, and meriting pardon, should be discharged every quarter.

A new and meliorated system produced the happiest results. It was no longer then, as formerly, when these unhappy wretches were frequently driven to despair, by the infliction of cruel punishments, and the practice of unnecessary severity. As little coercion was exerted, in respect to them, as is to be found on board one of His Majesty's ships of war, and the consequence was, that the state of their morals was greatly mended, since the time when the survivors of the former system departed far worse than when they were first received on board. The chief merit of this is assuredly to be attributed to Mr. Graham, who acted as Inspector-General with a very inadequate salary of 300*l. per annum*. Nor ought it to be here forgotten, that the Reverend Mr. Donne, the chaplain at Portsmouth, powerfully contributed by his humane attentions,

in conjunction with the regular and pious discharge of his duty, to render the convicts orderly, obedient, and religious.

“ Compare this with the former system, and the difference will astonish every one. The contractors were then reproached with short allowance, both of victuals and clothing, while the quality of neither afforded satisfaction. It will scarcely be credited, that there was a set of men on board each hulk, denominated ‘Die-Hards,’ who, either in consequence of actual sale, or loss by gambling, assigned for life all their provisions to other persons, and resolutely made up their minds to starve themselves to death. Disease of course was prevalent, and prodigious numbers perished yearly. Good health and spirits under the new management immediately prevailed, while a disposition to industry began to be manifested, and the name of ‘Die-Hards’ was soon unknown.

“ It appears, also, from the Surgeon’s report, indeed, that since January, 1802, when the present establishment commenced, only  $2\frac{1}{4}$  out of every hundred had died, although in that time there were upwards of 200 sick in the hospital.

“ It is apparent, also, from the report of Commissioner Grey of the Dock-Yard at Portsmouth, and Rear-Admiral Coffin, while second in command of the fleet there, that the convicts conducted themselves with great order and regularity.

“ With regard to the expense of maintaining the establishment, it seems probable, that the value of their labour nearly equalled the charge for their maintenance during the late war, although the dock-yard and ordnance officers fixed the rate of them as artificers, at eighteen-pence, and as labourers, at one shilling, a day per man. Even at this low estimate, the value of their services, in 1806, amounted, at Portsmouth alone, to 22,351*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, exclusive of the work done on board for the use of the hulks: while the sum expended for supporting the whole of their establishment, there and elsewhere, was but 46,729*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.*”

Having thus extracted a brief history of the origin, continuation, and completion of the hulk system, we shall next present an account of those regulations, that led to the reform of it,

II. *Circular Instructions to be observed and followed by Captain of the Convict Hulk in Harbour.*

1. Whenever you leave the hulk, to give strict orders to the first mate, not to quit her during your absence!

2. To cause a book to be kept in the steward's office, in which every occurrence of the day is to be entered; and every day, an estimate is to be entered, somewhat similar to the following:—for example,

Total number of convicts victualled; say 450

Of which, were on shore at work.....350

Kept on board for ship's duty.....36

Sick in the hospital.....27

Old and infirm, incapable of labour.....22

Shoemakers and taylors employed on board.....15

Total.....450

And to particularise the shoemakers and taylors, and the work done by them, in the following manner:

Shoemakers.	Work by them.	Value.
A. B. made	pair shoes.....	
C. D. mended	— .....	
Taylors.		
E. F. made	Jackets.....	
G. H. mended	ditto.....	

Value of the labour this day £

3. The boats and men belonging to the hulk never to be employed on pleasure or private business, and if duty should require your absence for the night, you are always to send the boat back before the *lock-up* time and setting of the watch, with information to the first mate of your intention to sleep on shore, of which he is to make a minute in the occurrence-book, and also of your return on board after such absence, and to sign his name to it.

4. You, or the first mate, attended by an inferior officer, are to visit every day every part of the hulk, and to see that she is kept in the most perfect state of cleanliness. The hammocks are to be lashed up, and taken down every morning before the convicts go on shore to work, and whenever the weather will permit, they are to be brought upon deck to be aired. The decks, above and below, are to be washed twice a-week at the least, and to be swept, fore and aft, regularly every morning at nine o'clock, and at one in the afternoon, (and oftener if necessary,) and the dirt brought up from below and thrown into a dirt-tub to be kept for that purpose.

5. A daily allowance of provisions to be issued to the convicts, according to the following scheme of diet, a copy of which is to be kept constantly hung up upon each deck, so that the convicts may always know what they are entitled to receive.

*A TABLE of the daily allowance of every Mess of six Convicts on board — Hulk.*

Breakfast.				Dinner.				Supper.				
Barley.		Oat-meal.		Bread.		Beef.		Cheese.	Beer.	Barley.		Oat-meal.
lb. oz.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.		lb. oz.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.	pts.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.			
Sunday.....	1 4 0	4		7 14	5 14½	—	18	1 1½	0 6½			
Monday....	1 4 0	4		7 14	—	2 10	18	—	1 8			
Tuesday....	1 4 0	4		7 14	5 14½	—	18	1 1½	0 6½			
Wednesday	1 4 0	4		7 14	—	2 10	18	—	1 8			
Thursday...	1 4 0	4		7 14	5 14½	—	18	1 1½	0 6½			
Friday.....	1 4 0	4		7 14	—	2 10	18	—	1 8			
Saturday ...	1 4 0	4		7 14	5 14½	—	18	1 1½	0 6½			
Each mess } per week, }			8 12	1 12	55 2	23 10	7 14	126	4 6	6 2		
			4 6	6 2								
			13 2	7 14								
Each man } per week, }			2 3 1	5	9 3	3 15	1 5	21				
Each man } per day, }			0 5	0 3	1 5	—	0 3	3				



The beef to be coarse wholesome meat; and the other articles to be good and wholesome of their kind.

The bread to be of the quality sent to His Majesty's troops of the line; and you are to use every possible means to prevent them from selling any part of their allowance, one to another, or to any other person.

6. You are to be careful and see that no other than standard weights and measures are used on board the hulk.

7. When provisions come on board, the officer having the guard upon deck, with the steward and contractor's man, shall attend to see them weighed and measured, and if any be damaged, or unfit for use, or be short of weight or measure, an immediate report thereof is to be made to you, or in your absence to the first mate, who, with the assistance of the surgeon, will inspect the same, and such as they shall find unfit for use are to be returned upon the contractors' hands, and an equal quantity of good provisions in lieu thereof be demanded immediately. And if the same bad provisions should again be sent on board, or others equally bad on the same day, you are to cause them to be returned, and purchase an equal quantity of good in the market, and charge the amount to the contractor, making a minute thereof in the occurrence-book, and taking credit for the same in your account with me at the end of the quarter; when it will be deducted from the contractor's victualling account. When the provisions are issued for the convicts' use, you are to direct the officer having charge of the deck, with the steward, and two convicts, (to be chosen daily from their own body,) to see them weighed and measured, and delivered to the cook to be dressed, and as the presence of the two convicts is calculated and intended to prevent on their part all just cause of complaint respecting the weight and measure of the provisions, you are carefully to enforce their attendance, and for a neglect of this precaution on your part, no excuse whatever will be admitted. A minute of their names is to be made daily in the occurrence-book.

8. Whenever the weather will permit, all healthy convicts without distinction are to be sent on shore to work, and none

be suffered to remain during the working hours, except shoemakers and tailors, and such others as may be necessary for doing the duty of the hulk; and they are to be changed, daily or weekly, as shall be judged most proper and necessary, so as that this duty may be done by all in rotation.

9. You are on no account to suffer the shoemakers or tailors to work for any officer or other person belonging to the hulk, nor, during the usual working hours, for any person on shore, but to see that they are employed daily in making and mending clothes for the rest of the convicts; and when there is no such work for them to do, you are to send them on shore to labour.

10. Upon complaint being made by any of the convicts of their being too ill to go on shore to labour, you are to cause them to be examined by the surgeon, and if he recommends it, you are to order them into the hospital, there to be taken care of until they shall be recovered, and when they are fit for duty again, of which he will give you the earliest information, you are to remove them from the hospital, and send them on shore to labour.

11. You are to take care that the surgeon visits the hospitals every morning and evening, and the hulk under your superintendence once a-day at the least, and you are to make a minute in the occurrence-book of his doing so, or of any neglect thereof.

12. A regular book is to be kept of the entries and discharges of convicts sent to the hospital, and during their continuation on that book, they are to be chequed of their common provisions on the ship's book; therefore a copy of the sick book is to be annexed to every quarterly pay-book, and delivered to me at the end of every quarter.

13. The hospital bedding, dresses, and utensils, are to be taken the greatest care of, and those out of use to be always washed and cleaned, and kept in proper places ready for use again.

14. You are to visit the hospital once a-day at least, and inform yourself of every thing relating to the sick, and to take

care that no irregularities or abuses are suffered therein, and that the boards and every part of the hospital be kept in the most perfect state of cleanliness.

15. You are to be careful that all the officers and guards do their duty punctually, and in the event of any vacancy happening, by death or otherwise, you are to direct the next officer in seniority to do the duty, until I shall have had an opportunity of enquiring whether he is a proper person to fill it up. And as an encouragement to all on board, you are from time to time to send me an impartial account of their behaviour, that I may be able on all occasions to approve of your choice of one from amongst themselves, and not be obliged to put a stranger over any of their heads. And it is to be understood by you, that in all cases where any person is appointed by me, that the moment he enters the hulk, I have no longer any private knowledge of him, but if he neglects his duty, you then are to treat him and report of him to me, just as you would treat and report of any other person. In short, you are answerable for the conduct of every one on board; you are to take care not to make any other distinction between them than such as shall be warranted by superior merit, which with me will ever be the strongest inducement to confirm your appointment.

16. The following yearly allowance of cloathing, if required, may be issued by you to each convict, viz. two jackets, two pair of breeches, four pair of stockings, three pair of shoes, two hats, two neck handkerchiefs, one waistcoat, and one blanket. The utmost economy, however, is to be observed by you, and though you are allowed to go to this extent, (but on no account beyond it,) yet you are to make as much less do as you can, without running any risk of injuring the healths of the convicts, and you are to give me an account in the pay-book of the several articles issued by you at the end of every quarter.

17. The clothes and bedding of convicts making their escape and dying, (except such of the latter as may have died of fevers or any contagious disorder, in which case the surgeon's opinion of the propriety of preserving the same is to be taken,) are to be carefully preserved and issued by you to such of the

others as shall stand most in need of them, without any allowance being made to the contractors of the same. And if convicts escaping or dying leave any private clothing or money behind them, an inventory of the clothes and a memorandum of the money, are to be minuted in the occurrence-book on the day of the escape or death, and you are to sign your name thereto.

18. The private clothes belonging to convicts, (an inventory of which is to be entered in the occurrence-book,) are to be carefully preserved, and punctually delivered them on their leaving the hulk, and their money, if they have any, is to be kept in your hands and accounted for by you, in a book to be opened for that purpose, an abstract of which you are to deliver to me, at the end of every quarter, in the following manner.

	£	s.	d.
January 1. A B, in hand .....			
Received since .....			
March 31. Expended in this quarter .....			
Remains .....	£		

And no fee or reward whatever is to be taken by you, or any person for you, for this, or for any thing else done for the convicts.

A fee or reward, either in money or goods, taken by you, or by any person belonging to the hulks, from the contractor who supplies the provisions and clothing, or from any person having permission to sell things on board, will be considered as taken from the convicts, because, in fact, they must be injured by it, at least to the extent of the value of what you receive; and it may be fairly presumed, that such presents are made with a view of seducing you from your duty, the better to enable the person who makes them, to repay himself not only for what he bestows upon you, but a great deal more; which of course will be at the expense of the convicts in one way or another. This offence is of the most heinous nature,

inasmuch as it is a robbery committed on the unfortunate, and will not admit of an excuse. On the other hand, your conduct will be equally blameable, if, from any improper motive, you should be induced to encourage, or not prevent an extravagant use of such necessary articles as the contractor, by his contract, is bound to provide for the use of the hulks. At the same time, therefore, that you see the terms of the contract fairly fulfilled by him, you are to be careful not to exact any thing that may by him be justly deemed an imposition.

19. You are not to keep any pigs or poultry on board the hulks, nor to permit any other person to do so, for the purpose of selling any part thereof to the convicts, with whom neither you nor any other officer or guard are to have any sort of traffic whatever.

20. The chaplain is to read prayers and preach a sermon every Sunday throughout the year ; and on Christmas-day and Good Friday, in the chapel on board the hulk ; and to the end that divine service may be decently and devoutly performed, you are to take care that every convict is clean in his person and dress, and that no improper behaviour or inattention be shown during the time of service. The chaplain is to visit the sick in the hospital occasionally, and to show himself at all times ready and desirous of administering to them such spiritual advice and consolation as they may stand in need of ; and, on the death of any convict, you are to give the chaplain timely notice, so as to ensure his attendance at the funeral, which is never to be suffered without the burial-service being performed, and one of the officers of the hulks, with six at least of the convicts attending, which is to be inserted in the occurrence-book.

21. If convicts misbehave at their work, they are on no account to be beaten by the officers or guards, but these are to use gentle and persuasive means to induce them to alter their conduct ; and if that will not do, they are to complain of them to you : and, on their return on board, you are to punish them according to the nature of their crime, under the direc-

tion of the act 19 Geo. III. c. 74., taking care to do it in the face of all the rest of the convicts, so as to make it an example to the whole. A minute to be made of the name of the convict, the name of the complainant, the nature of the crime, and also of the punishment inflicted.

On the escape of a convict, a strict enquiry to be made into the cause, and to leave no means untried to recover him; and if his escape has been occasioned by the negligence of any officer or other person belonging to the hulk, a minute to be made of all the circumstances in the occurrence-book, and transmit a copy thereof to me; and, if proof can be had of any officer or other person or persons being concerned in effecting the escape of any convict, you are to proceed against him or them as the law directs. The name and description of every convict making his escape should be sent immediately under a cover, directed to the sitting magistrate at each of the public offices in London.

22. Both you and your officers are to watch and make minutes from time to time of the behaviour of the convicts, so that you may be able to form an opinion of their disposition to reform; and, at the end of every quarter, you are to deliver to me a list of six who shall have served more than half their time on board the hulk, and whose conduct, in your impartial opinion, make them fit objects of mercy, in order that I may enquire particularly into the ground of your recommendation of them, and report thereon to the Secretary of State for His Majesty's consideration; and in executing this part of your duty, you are to act impartially; for if it should appear that interest, or any sinister motive whatever, has influenced you in your opinion, the most marked disapprobation of your conduct will follow the detection.

You are, therefore, to prepare a character-book, to be kept in the clerk's office, for the inspection of all the officers, in the presence of whom, and the chaplain, you are to have a general muster of all the convicts on the first Sunday in every quarter, and enquire into the conduct of every man since the last

muster; and against each name put one of the following marks:

For attending the sacrament .....	X.
Religiously disposed .....	r.
Good .....	g.
Indifferent .....	in.
Suspicious (character not determined) .....	s.
Bad .....	b.
Very bad .....	v. b.

You are to make known to each man the mark put against his name, and the effect it is likely to have in shortening the time of his confinement; and to mark the first column in such a manner as will best describe the conduct of each convict, from his first confinement up to the present time. \*

23. A regular daily account of the state of the hulks is to be kept by you, and transmitted to me weekly: and a weekly account of the convicts' labour is to be annexed to the quarterly-book, agreeably to the annexed forms.

24. You are, without delay, to make me acquainted with all extraordinary circumstances that occur on board the hulks, or in any manner relating to the convicts under your care.

(Signed) A. GRAHAM.

The conduct of the subject of this memoir was so conspicuously meritorious, and his remuneration at the same time so very inadequate, that he was presented with a sum of money by an unanimous vote of the House of Commons.

\* The following return was made from Portsmouth, 1st October 1811.

	Captivity.	Portland.	Laurel.
Very good, religiously disposed, and attend the sacrament,	17	31	9
Very good, .....	312	163	122
Good, .....	113	111	101
Indifferent, .....	32	22	16
Suspicious (character not ascertained) .....	6	5	5
Bad, .....	8	12	1
Incorrigible, .....	11	5	2
	499	349	256

This honourable testimony of his worth occurred at a period when disease indicated a speedy dissolution.

Mr. Graham was rather under the middle size; but he was particularly neat in his dress and person, agreeable in his manners; insinuating in his address, and greatly beloved by a wide circle of respectable friends. One amiable part of his character ought not to be overlooked. He was the constant friend to merit of every description. From the first moment he was enabled to act as a patron, he looked around him for worthy and deserving objects, destitute of protection, and to these he constantly extended a helping hand. For the young midshipman, anxious to exhibit himself on the quarter-deck of a king's ship, he was ever eager to find a captain who might treat him with paternal attention. He even assisted him in passing his examination; and on his promotion as a lieutenant, he generally found employment for him. Nor was this all; for he usually administered to the wants of the young officer, and supplied him with money for the purposes of equipment. The small sums advanced in this way, nearly all of which are lost to his family, must have swelled to a very considerable amount, in the course of thirty or forty years. Nor was it to subaltern officers alone he extended his friendship. Several captains obtained ships by his recommendation; and there is a flag-officer existing at this present moment, whose brows have been entwined with the victorious laurel, that is solely indebted for his rise to the friendship and discrimination of the subject of this memoir.

It has been already observed, that Mr. Graham displayed pre-eminent talents in the higher branches of mathematics. On the introduction of the new *time-pieces* on board ship, for the purpose of adjusting the reckoning, he entered into a scientific contest with a famed astronomer-royal; and when it is stated, that he was acknowledged by many to have attained the mastery, both in figures and in argument, it must be allowed that his merits were of a transcendent kind.

Mr. Graham excelled also in mechanics, a talent which he always dedicated to naval purposes. We have seen some fine



models of cutters, brigs, and ships of the line, formed out of box by his own hand, that would have done credit to the most experienced artist.

It is not a little remarkable, that the affairs of Drury-Lane, which have proved so fatal to many persons, finally produced that malady which occasioned the death of the subject of this memoir. Having a great personal regard for Mr. Sheridan, he gratuitously dedicated his time to the adjustment of accounts, complexed, confused, and intricate in the extreme; and has been often known to sit up whole nights in forming plans and estimates. At one period, indeed, all the arrangements of the theatre were submitted to his sole care and management. These multiplied avocations, in addition to his duties as a magistrate, at length superinduced a long train of nervous disorders; and he was for a considerable time confined to his bed. So little conscious was he, however, of his dissolution, which occurred on December 24. 1818, in the 66th year of his age, that, deeming himself in a convalescent state, he actually sent to Bath for a Merlin's chair, for the purpose of enjoying exercise in the open air.

So scrupulous was he in the discharge of his duties, that he overlooked every personal consideration arising out of labour and fatigue; and so skilful was he deemed, that he was consulted by the Treasury, on all great and critical occasions. During the mutiny at the Nore, his services proved eminently acceptable; he repaired, on that occasion, in character of a magistrate to Sheerness, and being well acquainted with the habits and manners of the sailors, contributed not a little to the termination of a revolt, that at one period threatened destruction to the naval superiority of Great Britain.

His conduct and talents were now deemed of so meritorious a description, that he was soon after selected for the office of chief magistrate of the police of the metropolis, which, as is usual on such occasions, was to be accompanied by the honour of knighthood. This appointment was actually held by him, during three or four days; and had it been conferred at an earlier period of life, would have been executed with due vigour

and promptitude, tempered by becoming mildness and discretion; but, in consequence of his increasing infirmities, he deemed it proper to resign.

Mr. Graham displayed through life a singular inattention to pecuniary interests; for he had it more than once in his power to have realised a large fortune.

He has left behind him a prudent and respectable widow, who has lately succeeded, by the death of a relation, to a great fortune, with three children. His eldest son, who distinguished himself on several occasions during the late war, has been for many years a post-captain in the royal navy. His second, the Reverend Henry Graham, a very amiable and discreet young man, was educated at Oxford, where he has obtained the degree of M. A. Of his daughters, one, eminent for her beauty and accomplishments, was carried off in the prime of life. Another, since dead, married captain the Baron de Spangler, of the Dutch navy; a third, who, while yet a child, exhibited a fine taste for poetry, is the wife of a professional gentleman.

## PART II.

### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES AND

### NEGLECTED BIOGRAPHY;

WITH

ORIGINAL LETTERS, PAPERS, &c.

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#### No. I.

RIGHT HON. AND MOST REV. HIS GRACE  
WILLIAM BERESFORD, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM,

BARON OF DECIES, IN THE COUNTY OF WATERFORD; PRIMATE OF  
CONNAUGHT; BISHOP OF ARDOCH; AND A PRIVY COUNSELLOR OF  
IRELAND.

MR. BERESFORD, third son of Marcus Beresford, earl of Tyrone, and brother of the first Marquis of Waterford, was born, April 16. 1743. After receiving an excellent education at the University of Dublin, he applied himself to the study of divinity. No sooner did age permit the imposition of priest's orders, than ecclesiastical preferments poured fast in upon this favoured son of the church. At the age of thirty-seven, we find him consecrated Bishop of Dromore. He was translated to the bishopric of Ossory in 1782; and obtained the archbishopric of Tuam in 1794.

His Grace, by his birth as well as by his alliances, ensured the countenance of government on all occasions, for these were accompanied and adorned by a good character. In 1763, he had married the sister of the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, John Earl of Clare, by whom he had issue, no fewer than ten sons and six daughters. He was created a peer of the kingdom of Ireland in 1812, by the style and title of Baron Decies, in the county of Waterford.

His Grace died at his palace of Tuam, in the county of Galway, Sept. 7. 1819, in his seventy-seventh year.

The archbishop is succeeded in his honours and estates by his eldest surviving son, the Hon. John Horsley Beresford, now Lord Decies. This latter nobleman, who is also in holy orders, assumed his additional surname of Horsley, on his marriage with Charlotte, only daughter and heiress of Robert Horsley, Esq. of Bolam-House, in the county of Northumberland.

## No. II.

### SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. F.R.S. F.A.S.

AND KEEPER OF THE RECORDS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

MR. LYSONS, the son of a respectable provincial clergyman, was a native of Gloucestershire, having been born at Rodmarton, near Cirencester, May 7. 1763. He was educated at Bath; and, being destined for the law, was placed for some time in an attorney's office in that gay city. In 1784 he came to London, entered himself a student of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple; and acted for some time as a special pleader under the Bar.

But although Mr. Lysons received a "call" in 1798, yet his ruling passion was directed towards studies of a far different kind; for he delighted in researches into the history and antiquities of England, and became a constant attendant at the Royal and Antiquary Societies for many years.

This, in conjunction with a good character, and a high reputation, procured an introduction to the King at Kew, by Sir Joseph Banks; and, on the death of Mr. Astle, he was nominated Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. His laborious literary career was closed after a short illness, on the 10th of April, 1819.

Many unfinished works have been left behind him, which a near and respectable relative intends to complete. He

also, during his life, published several others, some written in conjunction with his brother, the Rev. Daniel Lysons, whom we have just alluded to. The subject of this memoir was indefatigable in his researches, and eminently skilful in one branch of the Graphic art.

*Works of the late S. Lysons, Esq.*

1. Antiquities of Gloucestershire; the whole of the plates etched by himself from his own drawings.
2. The Roman remains discovered by him at Woodchester.
3. Collection of Roman remains in various parts of Great Britain (three first parts only are printed).
4. Magna Britannia, undertaken in conjunction with his brother.

A series of Royal Letters, found among the records in the Tower, were nearly prepared for publication at the time of his decease.

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No. III.

JAMES FORBES, Esq. F. R. S. F. A. S.

AND ALSO FELLOW OF THE ARCADIAN SOCIETY OF ROME.

**T**HIS gentleman, said to be descended from the Earls of Granard, was a native of the metropolis, having been born in London, in 1749. After receiving the usual education at school, and acquiring a fine notion of drawing, at the early age of sixteen, young Forbes left England, to proceed to Bombay, at which settlement he had obtained a writership.

Soon after his arrival, he procured leave of absence for a considerable time, and employed that opportunity in visiting different parts of India. Indeed, he became a celebrated traveller in the course of his life, having spent no fewer than twenty years, in different parts of Asia, Africa, and America.

With a happy facility, he was accustomed to transfer to paper very accurate drawings of the *costume* of the various tribes and nations which he visited. His coloured delineations of the various objects of natural history were also executed with such elegance, accuracy, and correctness, as to delight every beholder.

After a residence of nineteen years in the East, during which period, he had occupied many honourable and some lucrative offices, Mr. Forbes returned to his native country, and having purchased a house and estate at Stanmore-Hill, resolved to settle there. In 1788, he married Miss Gayland of Stanmore by whom he had issue one daughter.

Soon after this, he repaired to the Continent, for the express purpose of indulging his taste in the picturesque and sublime. The classical scenery of Italy, the romantic regions of Switzerland, and the extensive forests of Germany, were all contemplated and surveyed by him during a long and extensive tour.

As he had been precluded during the first war with France from visiting that country, he determined to take advantage of the short peace to repair thither. Accordingly, in 1803, accompanied by his wife and daughter, he sailed for Holland, and by taking that circuitous route, arrived at Paris soon after the renewal of hostilities, and on the very day after all the English had been declared to be "in a state of arrest." In consequence of this order, he was sent with his family to Verdun, where he was detained along with many thousands of his countrymen, for a considerable period. At length, he was indebted for his liberation to the circumstance of his being F. R. S., an honour obtained by him immediately before he left England. The National Institute on this, as on several similar occasions, interposed, and Bonaparte was pleased to order his liberation and that of his family. On his return to his native country, he employed himself in narrating the events that had occurred to him and the other prisoners during their captivity.

After a few years' residence at Stanmore-Hill, Mr. Forbes took his family once more to France, and on this occasion, married his only daughter to the Comte de Montalambert, minister from France to the court of Wirtemberg.

In the month of June, 1819, he left England for the last time, with a view of visiting his daughter at Stutgard. But he reached no further than Aix-la-Chapelle, having been seized on his arrival there with a mortal disease, which put a period to his existence on the 1st of August, 1819, in the 70th year of his age.

*List of the Works of the late Mr. Forbes.*

1. Letters from France, written in the Years 1803 and 1804; including a particular Account of Verdun, and the Situation of the British Captives in that City. 2 vols. 8vo. 1806.

2. Reflections on the Character of the Hindoos, and the Importance of converting them to Christianity. 8vo. 1810.

3. Oriental Memoirs. 4 vols. 4to. 1813, embellished with 93 exquisite engravings.

His portfolios were rich in drawings by his own hand, and consisted of many thousands.

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No. IV.

HENRY PENRUDDOCK WYNDHAM, Esq.

LATE KT. OF THE SHIRE FOR THE COUNTY OF WILTS. F.R.S. F.A.S.

MR. WYNDHAM was born in 1736, and educated at Wadham-College, Oxford, where he took the degree of M. A. in 1759. This gentleman commenced his literary career by publishing a tour through Monmouthshire and Wales, in 1775. The success accompanying this octavo volume tempted the author to

enlarge it into a quarto some years after, and it is still quoted with respect.

His next publication was in quality of editor of "The Diary of the late George Bubb Doddington, Baron of Melcombe Regis, with an Appendix of curious and interesting Papers." The original was found by him in his library; and the appearance of this small tract made a prodigious noise at that period, as it for the first time displayed corruption in a broad and glaring light, to the details of which the people had hitherto been unaccustomed. It has passed through no fewer than four editions.

In 1788 appeared "Wiltshire, extracted from the Domesday Book; to which is added, a Translation of the original Latin into English, with an Index, in which are adapted the modern Names to the Antient; and with a Preface, in which is included a Plan for a General Meeting of the County." His last work, was "A Picture of the Isle of Wight," an 8vo volume, which appeared in 1794.

Mr. Wyndham died at his house in the city of Salisbury, in the spring of 1819, at the mature age of 83.

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## No. V.

RT. REV. JOHN PARSONS, D. D.

LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

DR. PARSONS was a native of Oxford, a place always dear to him, being connected both with the city and university by the strongest ties of affection and attachment. He was born in the parish of St. Aldate, July 6. 1761, and was first placed at the school belonging to the cathedral; thence he was removed in a short time to that of Magdalen-College. To Wadham-College, Mr. Parsons was admitted in 1777, and elected a



scholar three years after. The following are the precise dates of his academical degrees: B. A., June 27, 1782; M. A., December 17, 1785; B. D., April 21, 1799; D. D., April 30, 1799.

In 1785, the subject of this short memoir became, in due rotation, a fellow of Wadham-College, and soon after, on the presentation of that society, obtained the livings of All-Saints and St. Leonard's, Colchester. In 1798, he returned to Oxford, in consequence of being chosen Master of Baliol; and was admitted to the office of Vice-Chancellor. After the lapse of about ten years, the deanery of Bristol was conferred by the crown; and on the 12th of December, 1813, the Doctor was consecrated Bishop of Peterborough, a see less celebrated for its opulence than the piety and respectability of its prelates.

After a possession of about six years, his lordship was seized with the rheumatic gout; this, after many severe and agonising paroxysms, carried him off, at his lodgings in Baliol College, March 12, 1819, in the 58th year of his age.

The Bishop of Peterborough has left an afflicted widow, but no children, behind him. Of literary compositions, avowed by this worthy dignitary of the Church of England, we know only of two sermons; one preached on a fast-day (March 20, 1811) before the House of Commons: the other before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, published in 1819.

The following letter, addressed by the Rev. Edward Patteson, M. A. to a celebrated civilian, conveys a high idea of the worth and talents of the departed and lamented prelate.

*To the Right Hon. Sir William Scott, D. C. L. Representative in Parliament for the University of Oxford, &c.*

SIR,

“ I RESPECTFULLY submit to your perusal an attempt to appreciate the virtues of a departed friend, for whom you are known to have entertained a high and merited regard. It was hastily traced out, immediately on his decease, under the impulse of feelings natural, on such an occasion, to an uninter-

interrupted attachment of many years: but neither the subsidence of the first warmth of those feelings, nor the deliberate scrutiny of many successive revisions, has induced me to apprehend, that, in any one point, my representation has exceeded the truth.

“ I am sensible, that, in having aspired not only to delineate such a character, but to solicit the inspection of a most accurate judge both of the subject and the execution, I may have laid myself open to the charge of presumption. But I shall not waste your time in apologies. If the portrait be at last defective, the failure on my part is without excuse. If it be faithful, I am well assured, that no man living will contemplate it with more pleasure, than Sir William Scott.

“ The Right Reverend John Parsons, D. D. late Bishop of Peterborough, and Master of Baliol College in the University of Oxford, was one of those rare and remarkable men, who appear to have been born, not so much to extend the limits of any particular species of knowledge, as to promote the cultivation of good sense and right feeling in every department of life. Of many not undistinguished persons, it is but too justly suspected, that the hope of distinction alone rendered them what they were: of Dr. Parsons it may be truly affirmed, that he rose to distinction, because he would not, in any circumstances, have been other than he was. His qualities were not of a nature to be assumed; nor his system of conduct such, as the views of latent ambition could have prompted. *To be useful*, was the great aim of his life: and the general persuasion, how eminently nature and experience had empowered him to be useful, was now fully established, when the hopes which it had raised were extinguished by his death.

“ Deeply and sincerely, by those who stood near to him, will his decease be lamented; but far wider is the sphere, in which it will be most permanently felt. The sorrows of private friendship will die with the passing generation; but that the public career of the Bishop of Peterborough should have been prematurely terminated, will be regretted by every true friend to our ecclesiastical and civil establishments, for generations to

come. In him, his college has lost a second founder; the university, a reformer of its abuses, a strict enforcer of its discipline, an able champion of its privileges, and a main pillar of its reputation; the public charities, a liberal contributor, and a powerful advocate; the Church of England, a conscientious professor of its doctrines, and a temperate but firm defender of its rights; the House of Peers, a discerning, upright, and active senator; and the nation at large, a true, loyal, and sober patriot.

“It was his peculiar felicity to leave, in every station which he successively filled, indelible traces both of his talents and his worth. The entire line of his progress was marked by a series of improvements; of institutions reformed; of revenues augmented; of residences restored and embellished: and all this was effected by means not less creditable to his integrity and benevolence, than to his judgment, perseverance, and energy. In his benefices, his college, his deanery, and his diocese, the thought of those, who might come after him, was ever present to his mind; and to their interest he often made large sacrifices of his own.

The elevation of Dr. Parsons to the prelacy was equally honourable to the discernment which pointed out his merit, and to the choice which acknowledged it. Conferred without solicitation, it was accepted without the forfeiture of independence; nor can any other motive be assigned for the appointment, than a just sense of his peculiar fitness both to fulfil the duties of the episcopal office, and to sustain its dignity.

“By those, whose opportunities of observing him were confined to his public functions and duties, the more soft and amiable features of his character were little understood. The commanding vigour of his colloquial powers was felt by all who conversed with him; but the lively narrative, the unstudied wit, the playful and inoffensive gaiety which adorned and animated his private conversation, were known only to few; for in the mixed and varied circle of general society, his habits were generally serious, and sometimes reserved.

“With a strength of intellect, of which he could not be unconscious, and a frame of nerves naturally firm, it is the less

surprising, that he should have possessed also that admirable presence of mind, which enabled him, on many trying and delicate emergencies, to act with equal promptitude, spirit, and propriety.

“ As a coadjutor in public business, he was neither forward to dictate, nor, when consulted, slow to suggest : but, when an entire question was fairly before him, his decision was formed without hesitation, and pronounced without fear. On the other hand, in collecting, weighing, and comparing evidence, he was patient and indefatigable. Never would he consent to sanction grave measures on questionable grounds ; to assign public rewards where no public service was proved ; or, (least of all,) to affix the stigma of delinquency, unless where a strong case was clearly made out.

“ He entertained a due respect for the opinions and information of others ; but where facts, testimony, and argument had failed to convince him, it was vain to urge him with mere names and authorities, excepting on subjects, remote from his own province or track of enquiry. His co-operation, therefore, was only to be obtained by satisfying his judgment : and such was his penetration, that any attempt to ensnare him by sophistry, or to work upon his feelings by imposture, was exposed to certain detection.

“ Though resolute and tenacious where conscience was concerned, no man could be more unwilling to contend for trifles : but he anxiously deprecated that false liberality, which, under the name of *trifles*, is ready to abandon the most important outworks of the Church and State. To peace he was ready to make any sacrifice, but that of principle and the public good : and, wherever his situation gave him influence, it was for this object that he most delighted to exert it. Hence, it was his earnest endeavour to heal divisions, and to extinguish the spirit of party, in every society with which he became connected : and he made his own example eminently conducive to this end, by the strict impartiality of his regulations and decisions.

“ When placed where sectaries were numerous and powerful, he neither courted them by concessions, nor disgusted them

by useless hostility; and his conduct, however adverse to their views, conciliated their esteem.

“ Though he had not been long known to his clergy as their diocesan, they already appreciated his character, and felt the value of his paternal counsels and care. A few years had taught them to regard his residence amongst them as a blessing, and the prospect of his removal as that of an impending misfortune.

“ As a preacher, his grave, dignified, and emphatic delivery was well suited to compositions, of which the purpose was to convince, not to attract applause: and it is highly reputable to the University of Oxford, that its pulpit was never more numerously attended, than when he was expected to fill it.

“ In the House of Peers, he was rather a hearer, than a speaker. There, the due dispatch of business was his sole object; and, to his industry and perseverance in committees, his readiness in catching the true bearing of a question, and his acuteness in the detection of errors, they, who were accustomed to act with him, will bear ample testimony.

“ Where such is the intrinsic weight of character, the lustre, which it may derive from the friendship of other great and good men, is reflected upon themselves. Honourable, therefore, as it was to the Bishop of Peterborough, it was not to him alone honourable, that for many years he possessed equally the confidence of some persons, who filled the highest offices with dignity and credit, and of others, who, with no less dignity, had declined them.

“ Of such a man it is almost superfluous to record, that his faith as a Christian was sound, rational, and effective: — that what he taught, he believed; and what he believed, he practised.

“ When the religious opinions of other men, however opposite to his own, appeared to him to be sincere, his dissent from them was consistent with respect, and his disapprobation, with charity. But to the Establishment, in which he was bred, he was no lukewarm friend. Whether he regarded, with the greater share of dread, an intolerant superstition, or equally

intolerant fanaticism, may reasonably be doubted: but certain it is, that he could not contemplate the prevalence of either without serious alarm.

“ So earnest, indeed, was his solicitude to guard and maintain what he considered as the best and purest form of Christianity, and so well adapted was the turn of his mind, either to withstand the force, or to expose the artifices, of its assailants, that his decease cannot but be regarded as having left a void in the ranks of orthodoxy, not easily to be supplied.

“ Such, Sir, are my views of the conduct and character of the late Bishop of Peterborough. — What *you* thought of him generally, I have reason to know: and I therefore confidently hope, that you will not regard the particulars, here stated, as either fictitious or overcharged.

I am, with the highest respect,

Sir, your obliged and most obedient Servant,

EDWARD PATTESON.”

## No. VI.

RT. HON. THOMAS DE GREY, F. R. S.

SECOND LORD WALSINGHAM.

**T**HIS nobleman, born in 1748, was the only son of Sir William de Grey, for many years Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. On his resignation in 1780, that celebrated lawyer obtained the title of Baron Walsingham, of Walsingham, in the county of Norfolk.

The late Thomas Lord Walsingham was bred to the bar, and acquired a habit of business in early life, that contributed not a little, both to his utility and advancement. The first office held by him, while Mr. De Grey, was that of Under Secretary of State to Lord George Germaine, when that nobleman was nominated American Secretary. After being thus occupied for a few years, we afterwards find him actively em-

ployed as one of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, until that board experienced a total eclipse in consequence of the operation of an act of parliament (Mr. Burke's bill), which deprived the members of their salaries.

In 1787, Lord Walsingham, who had succeeded to the family-honours, obtained the advantageous appointment of Joint Postmaster-General, which he held until 1794; and it was during that period, if we mistake not greatly, that the grand improvement, suggested by Mr. Palmer, took place in this department. Unhappily, they did not exactly accord on this subject.

In 1795, being then out of employment, this nobleman was selected for the important office of Chairman of the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords. Notwithstanding the occasional assistance of two barristers, this is an employment of great difficulty and delicacy, as all estate, naturalization, and private bills usually originate in this house, and a daily attendance therefore becomes necessary, during a large portion of the session of Parliament. In addition to this, to him was assigned the great and important employment of presiding at all committees, where the honours of the Peerage were claimed.

The industry and abilities displayed by the noble chairman, on every occasion, have always been acknowledged, not only by the candidates for the Peerage, but also by the numerous clients and their agents who solicited the various bills submitted to his inspection. Notwithstanding occasional fits of the gout, he was punctual in his attendance, and not unfrequently was carried down with his legs wrapped in flannel, in order that the public business might not experience any delay from his corporeal infirmities.

This nobleman acted as chairman of the Committee of the Lords, in the trial of the late Warren Hastings, Esq. for high crimes and misdemeanours. It was not until the 13th of April, 1795, however, that he found an opportunity of delivering his own opinion on the resolutions entered into by the House, anterior to a final decision. On this occasion, he lamented, that he had been deprived of the power of speaking until then, by

his official engagements; but added, that he would then take the opportunity of stating his opinion in the shortest possible manner.

“The principle on which I mean to act, is this: to acquit Mr. Hastings wherever he appears to have acted directly for the public service, or wherever any doubt arose in point of law, of so critical a nature as that the most learned authorities in the house differ in their construction of it. Upon this principle I acquit him upon the Benares and Begum charges, because he sought only the Company’s advantage without any views of self-interest: the same principle applies to the present given through Sandanund; there is a difference in respect to the other presents.” His lordship then stated his opinion in respect to the contracts, and concluded by saying that Mr. Hastings, “by the vigour of his mind, had preserved an empire to the nation which, without this, might have been lost for ever.”

After an able and impartial speech, of which the above is a brief outline, Lord Walsingham concluded by acquitting the prisoner on all the sixteen articles, the ninth only excepted: “for having granted the opium contract to Stephen Sullivan, Esq. in 1781, upon terms glaringly extravagant and wantonly profuse.”

In 1816, his lordship was afflicted with a paralytic affection, in consequence of which he retired on a pension, a moiety of which was reversionary to his family. His Lordship died at his house at Old Windsor, January 16, 1818, after a long and painful illness.

Lord Walsingham who, in addition to the offices already mentioned, enjoyed that of Comptroller of the First Fruits and Tenths, was exceedingly wealthy, his personal property alone amounting to near 200,000*l*. Among other pecuniary bequests, he has left a legacy of 100 guineas to testify his esteem for his old friend, the Lord Chancellor Eldon.

This nobleman, for a long series of years, stood high in the confidence, both of the King and Queen.



## PART III.

### ANALYSIS

OF

## RECENT BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

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### No. I.

MEMOIRS OF JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH; WITH HIS ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE: COLLECTED FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS, &c. AT BLENHEIM, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES. ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND MILITARY PLANS. BY WILLIAM COXE, M. A. F. R. S. F. S. A, ARCHDEACON OF WILTS. 3 vols. 4to. 1818-19.

THIS splendid work, partly composed under the auspices of the late Duke of Marlborough, is dedicated to the present, who has recently afforded a proof of his veneration to the hero of these volumes, by assuming the name and arms of Churchill.

It is no less surprising than true, that until now, no regular authentic biography of the great John Duke of Marlborough has made its appearance, notwithstanding materials, both original and authentic, have ever existed in great abundance. Sarah, his surviving Duchess, was always anxious that a tribute of this kind should be paid to the memory of her consort, and, long before her death, collected and compiled numerous materials for a life of the most splendid military character of that age. To Glover, and Mallet, she entrusted her manu-

cripts, and assigned by will, the sum of 1000*l.*, as a compensation for their literary labours. One condition however was sufficient to deter any prudent man from such an arduous task: viz., "that the work should be approved by her executors;" another, of a different nature, might have been easily complied with: "that it should not contain a single line of verse."

On the death of the two gentlemen, alluded to above, the papers were restored to the family; and, having been once more deposited at Blenheim, were regularly arranged, by order of the late Duke. An accidental conversation with Lord Charles Spenser, led to an application to his father for permission to examine these documents; and a nearer view of this rich collection strengthened the wish of our author to become the biographer of their distinguished ancestor.

"My object was," observes he in the preface, "not merely to exhibit the Duke of Marlborough as a general, but also as a statesman, and a negotiator. It was no less my wish to delineate his character as a man, and to exhibit those qualities of his mind, and heart, which have either been misrepresented, or passed without notice.

"In fulfilling my task, I have endeavoured to avoid an error, too common with biographers, who often hold forth the subject of their memoirs as a perfect being, like a lover of romance, without frailty or blemish. On the contrary, I have not hesitated to bring to light those feelings with which the virtues, and the talents of the Duke of Marlborough were blended. In particular, I have not attempted to conceal or palliate his clandestine correspondence with his former sovereign and benefactor. This intercourse, although misrepresented, and exaggerated in the garbled pages of Macpherson and Dalrymple, is an historical fact, too well authenticated to be either controverted or denied. I have, however, scrutinised his views and motives, and I trust have shown that he never entertained a serious wish for the return of James II. or the pretender; but that in common with many other persons of all ranks and

conditions he was merely anxious to secure pardon in case of a counter-revolution.

“In the materials to which I have recourse,” adds he, soon after, “I may deem myself particularly fortunate. Nothing perhaps shows the character of an individual, and his true motives of action, more than his confidential letters, which were neither expected or intended to meet the public eye. Of this kind is the greater part of the Duke’s correspondence, consisting principally of his private communications with the Duchess and the Treasurer. To bring therefore these memoirs, as nearly as possible, to that species of biography which is at once the most interesting and instructive; I have endeavoured to render him his own historian, by adopting, on every important occasion, his unaffected and expressive language, and blending the correspondence with the narrative.”

It might be deemed tedious here, to enumerate either the various persons, or the mass of authentic documents, applied to and perused by Mr. Coxe. No author has ever been more fortunate, in respect to this most essential article.

He traces the Churchill family from the period of the conquest, Roger de Courcil, or Courselle, a Norman Baron, who accompanied William, being originally descended from the Courcils of Poitou. This chief, appears to have been liberally rewarded for his valour, by certain grants of land; and his descendants, at the time of the unhappy civil wars, took part with Charles I. against the parliament.

John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was the second son of Sir Winston Churchill, Knight, who had suffered greatly during the civil wars, by siding with Charles I. He was born at Ashe, on the 24th of June, 1650; and his elder brother, Winston, having died in his infancy, he of course became heir to the declining fortunes of this ancient house. In respect to his education, it is only known that the illustrious subject of this memoir was brought up under the care of his father, who was himself a man of letters, and well versed in history. He was also, for a time, instructed in the rudiments of human knowledge by a neighbouring clergyman, after which, he was

placed sometime at the school of St. Paul's, under Dr. Crumleholm, then high-master.

Although his father, Sir Winston, was not rich, yet he appears to have possessed considerable interest. This was exerted so successfully, that his only daughter, Arabella, was introduced at court soon after the restoration, as maid of honour to the first Duchess of York; while John was appointed page of honour to the Duke.

Having evinced his military ardour, in the presence of his patron, (afterwards James II.) that Prince presented him with a pair of colours in one of the two regiments of foot-guards, when he was only sixteen years of age.

His first campaign was spent at the siege of Tangier, then besieged by the Moors; his next, on the continent, under the Duke of Monmouth, who, soon after the débarcation, appointed him a Captain of grenadiers, in his own regiment. It was at the siege of Nimeguen that the youthful warrior first attracted the discerning eye of Turenne, who, from that period, always spoke of him by the familiar appellation of his "handsome Englishman." Next year, he signalised himself before Maestricht, by planting a banner on the rampart; for which service he received the thanks of Louis XIV. at the head of the army; and when the Duke of Monmouth, on his return, presented him to Charles II., he concluded his eulogium, on the merits of the young warrior, by adding: "to the bravery of this gallant officer I owe my life."

We are but little astonished, therefore, to find, that in 1674, young Churchill was nominated, by Louis, Colonel of an English regiment; and, in this new capacity, was present at the battle of Linzheim.

Passing over the irregularities that occurred during the fervour of youth, and were but too much countenanced by the dissolute manners of the age in which he lived, we proceed to his alliance with Sarah, the younger daughter of Richard Jennings, Esq. of Sandridge, near St. Alban's, a gentleman of ancient and distinguished lineage. This lady had been introduced to the court of the Duchess of York, at the early age

of twelve, and soon became the companion and friend of the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen. In the midst of a licentious circle she maintained an unspotted reputation, and was not less respected for the prudence and propriety of her conduct, than the charms of her person, and the vivacity of her conversation. Their marriage took place in 1678, at a period when they were both poor; but he soon after obtained a regiment, and, at length, acquired not only independence but affluence. Nearly at the same period, Colonel Churchill was sent on a secret mission to the Prince of Orange; and we learn that the alliance offensive, and defensive, proposed by Sir William Temple, with the United Provinces, proceeded from a recent umbrage taken by Charles and his brother to the French King, "for refusing to encrease the pensions by which he had purchased their connivance at his ambitious designs." On this occasion, he was appointed to the command of a brigade in Flanders; but a speedy accommodation soon enabled him to return home, to enjoy the society of a beloved wife.

We now find General Churchill attending the Duke of York, during his various peregrinations; and he was about this period, through his Royal Highness's influence, a peer of Scotland, by the title of Lord Churchill, of Ayemouth. Meanwhile the favours, conferred on him by that Prince, were equally singular and distinguished; extending even to the preservation of his life, during the wreck of the Gloucester Yacht, in Yarmouth-roads. Lady Churchill became the confidential friend of the Princess Anne; and, in order to lay aside all possible restraint, her Royal Highness, in her correspondence, assumed a feigned name.

On the accession of James II., Lord Churchill was created a British peer, and distinguished by many other marks of the royal favour; among which may be reckoned, an embassy to Paris, to notify His Majesty's accession to the French monarch. On this latter occasion, however, he appears to have intimated to Lord Galway, "that if the King, (James II.) should attempt to change our religion and constitution, he would instantly quit his service."

After the battle of Sedgemoor, in which Lord Churchill distinguished himself, and was rewarded for his services with the colonelcy of the 3d troop of horse-guards, he appears to have been aware of the fate that awaited his royal master, in consequence of the countenance afforded by His Majesty to the "Papists." Accordingly, he was one of the first who made overtures to the Prince of Orange, and, at the same time, announced the "determination of the Princess Anne, rather to abandon her misguided father than to sacrifice her religion:" a resolution, it is added, "to which his exhortations, as well as those of his lady, had essentially contributed."

On the landing of William, he immediately joined his banners, while Lady Churchill, assisted by the Bishop of London, conducted the daughter of the abdicated James to the camp of his son-in-law. Soon after this, her husband was nominated a lord of the bed-chamber, sworn in a member of the Privy-Council, and raised to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough. Having now obtained the confidence of the new sovereign, the subject of this memoir was sent to Ireland, and here he greatly distinguished himself by the reduction of Cork and Kinsale. In the midst, however, of all the favour thus munificently bestowed, it appears that both he and Godolphin, the lord-treasurer, actually entered into a secret and treasonable correspondence with the exiled king, after having powerfully and successfully contributed to the stability of the throne of William III.

In 1692, we find the Earl of Marlborough not only disgraced, but sent a close prisoner to the Tower; and when, at length, admitted to bail, his name was struck from the list of privy-councillors. In the course of a short time, however, we discover this wonderful man, not only restored to his military rank and employments, but made governor to the Duke of Gloucester. Soon after this, his two daughters, the ladies Henrietta and Anne, were married to Mr. Godolphin and Lord Spencer.

"Lord Spencer," we are told, "was highly favoured by nature, and no less liberally gifted with intellectual endowments, which he had improved by assiduous study. He was remark-

able for a sedateness above his years ; but in him, a bold and impetuous spirit was concealed under a cold and reserved exterior. Imbued with that ardent love of liberty which the youthful mind generally draws from the writers of Greece and Rome, and educated amidst the effervescence which produced the Revolution, he was a zealous champion of the Whig doctrines, in their most enlarged sense. Associating with the remnant of republicans who had survived the commonwealth he caught their spirit. He was an animated speaker : and, in the warmth of debate, disdained to spare the prejudices or failings, even of those with whom he was most intimately connected. His political idol was Lord Somers, though he wanted both the prudence and temper of so distinguished a leader. The deportment of the young nobleman in private life," it is added, "was ill calculated to win the esteem of those, who could not regard with indulgence the defects of his public character. Abhorring the shadow of adulation, he carried his freedom of speech to a degree of bluntness which was often offensive."

Meanwhile, his father-in-law accompanied William to the Netherlands, who invested him with high powers, both political and military. On the demise of James II., Louis XIV. acknowledged his son as King of England, and thus rendered a war inevitable.

Meanwhile, William III. expired in the 52d year of his age; and, on this occasion, magnanimously forgetting all his prejudices against Marlborough, his dying request to his successor was, to recommend him "as the most proper person in her dominions, to lead her armies and direct her counsels."

Accordingly, he now commenced a career of victory, unexampled in our history. Having repaired to the allied army on the Continent, he was at first prevented from engaging in many enterprises, equally useful and brilliant, by the Dutch field-deputies ; but we pass over both the impediments which he experienced and the triumphs he achieved until August 13, 1704, when, after effecting the passage of the Danube, he gained the battle of Blenheim. Between eleven and twelve

thousand of the enemy, together with their general Tallard, were made prisoners on this memorable occasion; and the effects produced by the victory are incalculable. "During the whole of this tremendous conflict," observes our author, "the Duke of Marlborough exerted himself with his characteristic coolness, vigilance, and energy, superintending the manœuvres in every part, and appearing in every point where the presence of the general was necessary to revive the courage, to restore the order, or to direct the attack of his troops. The author of the 'Campaign' (Addison) has caught the spirit of his hero, and described the effects of his superintending direction, in language equal to the subject."

On his return to England, Marlborough, who had already obtained a dukedom, was distinguished by accumulated honours and rewards. The Queen immediately conferred on him the manor of Woodstock, and ordered the palace of Blenheim to be built for his residence, under the inspection of Sir John Vanburgh, who furnished the plans. The Emperor of Germany, at the same time, to demonstrate his gratitude, made him an offer of a patent as a Prince of the Empire, with a grant of Munderkingen, which was afterwards exchanged for the Lordship of Mindleheim. In 1705, we find him at the head of the allied army, forcing the French lines at Heilesheim, and defeating the enemy, whom he afterwards drove beyond the Dyle.

The battle of Ramillies, gained in 1706, cost the enemy 13,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the desertion that followed swelled their loss to 15,000; many distinguished French officers were taken prisoners, while the spoils of this memorable day amounted to 80 standards, and almost all the French artillery and baggage. The surrender of Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp, followed soon after. This produced an extension, on the part of the Queen, of the ducal title to the female line, and a collateral entail of Blenheim, together with a pension of 5000*l*.

The campaign of 1708 was chiefly occupied with grand manœuvres and sieges, for the battle of Oudenarde was not so



decisive, as might have been expected, in consequence of the intervention of night. The Duke of Marlborough having, at length, established his line between Chobon and Diepenbech, prepared for a complete victory; to avert which Vendôme dismounted from his horse, and led on the enemy near Mullen, to the rescue of their companions; but all his efforts proved but of little avail.

“ In this crisis, darkness enveloped the contending hosts, and the positions were discernible only by the flashes of musketry, which rolled round the narrowing circle of the devoted army, till the right of Eugene and the left of the Prince of Orange approached the same point. They mistook each other for enemies, and their conflict might have produced the most deplorable effects amidst the victorious ranks, had not the generals exerted themselves with unusual activity, to put a timely stop to the fire. About nine, orders were given to the troops, to halt as they stood, and suffer the enemy to escape, rather than expose themselves to mutual destruction. To this order, numbers of the enemy owed their safety. Favoured by the obscurity, the broken corps forced their way in tumultuous crowds, as they were impelled by fear or despair. Some thousands slipped unperceived through an opening in the allied lines, near the castle of Bevere, and directed their flight towards the French frontier: others endeavoured to rejoin their left wing, in the direction of Mullem; and a considerable number wandered to the posts of the allies, and were captured.”

The bravery of the English general on this occasion could only be equalled by his humanity; for on perceiving next morning a prodigious number of wounded of different nations, enveloped in carnage, and surrounded with the wreck of war, he gave orders “ to collect the survivors, and to bestow on all, without distinction, the care and relief which circumstances would permit. The agonies of suffering nature,” it is added, “ were thus soothed, and many were snatched from a lingering and painful death, to acknowledge the beneficence and bless the name of their conqueror.”

The third volume of this respectable work affords the most ample and curious account of the petty intrigues that prevailed in the court of Queen Anne; the jealousies of the Whigs, who had lost Her Majesty's favour, and the petty perplexities of the greatest general of his age, who dreaded the influence of Mrs. Masham far more than the armies of Louis XIV., and courted the smiles of his duchess with still greater ardour than glory itself. We find, that this spirited dame and her son-in-law, Godolphin, were now both in disgrace; while Oxford and Bolingbroke, through the agency of the female alluded to above, monopolised the entire favour of the Queen, who had consented to a secret and dishonourable negotiation with France, without the privity of the renowned commander, who had so often led the armies of the allies to victory.

This great general, however, was still continued in the command, and, in the campaign of 1709, besieged and took Tournay. The battle of Malplaquet and the capture of Mons added to his laurels. In 1710, he once more took the field, forced the French lines by a series of masterly manœuvres, and besieged Douay and Fort Scarpe, in presence of a superior enemy, with his usual success. But he was foiled less by Marshal Villars than the intrigues of his own court, in his designs against Arras, and his intentions of penetrating into the heart of France.

In 1711, all his plans were deranged, and all his hopes blasted, by the sudden demise of the Emperor of Germany. The capture of Bouchain, accompanied by his generous interposition in favour of Fenelon, terminated the military career of this hero, whose glory experienced a sudden eclipse: for he was charged with fraud and peculation, dismissed from all his employments, and, with some difficulty, obtained a passport for the continent, where he actually lived as an exile, in great obscurity.

On the accession of George I., the Duke returned to his native land, was re-invested with the office of commander-in-chief, and died, immensely rich, June 16, 1732, in the 72d

year of his age, after having been some years afflicted with the palsy, and reduced to the most deplorable state of imbecility.

Mr. Coxe, in the concluding chapter, presents us with a very fair and impartial account of his hero. As a private individual, we are assured that he exhibited all the domestic virtues in an eminent degree, being a dutiful son, a tender husband, an affectionate father, a firm friend, and an indulgent master. He is allowed by all to have possessed the graces; and is here praised "for his generous magnanimity." "Human nature, however," adds his biographer, "is not perfect, and it is with regret we acknowledge, that one virtue was wanting to the Duke of Marlborough, which we naturally attach to the character of a great man. This was a want of liberality, which in him amounted to parsimony." It is also admitted, that his political career was not free from blemish, in consequence of his clandestine correspondence with the exiled family; but as a warrior, his praise is unbounded, while the familiar appellation of "Corporal John" serves to denote the love borne him by the army. Even Bolingbroke, after his death, acknowledges him to be the "greatest general and the greatest minister, that our country, or any other, has produced."

We lament that we are unable to consign a longer space to the notice of a work, which fills up an important chasm in British biography. We congratulate the Archdeacon on the conclusion of his labours, and differ only with him in respect to his opinion of the Duchess of Marlborough, whose faults he carefully enumerates without, perhaps, doing sufficient justice to her talents, her merits, and her public spirit.

## No. II.

LETTERS FROM THE ABBE EDGEWORTH TO HIS FRIENDS, WRITTEN BETWEEN THE YEARS 1777 AND 1807; WITH MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE, INCLUDING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LATE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF CORK, DR. MOYLAN, AND LETTERS TO HIM FROM THE RT. HON. EDMUND BURKE, AND OTHER PERSONS OF DISTINCTION. — BY THE REV. THOMAS R. ENGLAND. 8vo. 1818.

HENRY ESSEX EDGEWORTH, generally known here as the “Abbe Edgeworth,” was born in Edgeworth’s town in Ireland, some time in the year 1745. Robert his father, a clergyman of the established church, and for some time Rector of Edgeworth’s town in the county of Longford, married Miss Usher, a grand-daughter of the celebrated archbishop of that name. Having resigned his preferment, he left Ireland in 1749, and became a convert to the religion of the church of Rome. Some landed property appertaining to him in his native county was afterwards sold, and Henry, at his ordination, assumed the title of Abbé de Fermont, from the name of one of those farms.

After residing some time at Toulouse, where he completed the usual course of belles-lettres and rhetoric, at the instance of the late Dr. Moylan, afterwards *titular* Bishop of Cork, the subject of this memoir was sent to Paris, and, while there, resided in the seminary of *Trente-Trois*, while he attended at the philosophical and theological lectures at the colleges of Navarre and the Sorbonne.

In due time, the young student was ordained a priest, on which he removed to the seminary of *Les Missions Etrangères, Rue de Baeq*. “Each morning found him in the tribunal of penance, the patient confessor, the zealous instructor, the meek and humble spiritual director and friend of all who sought his assistance or counsel.”

During the "reign of terror," this pious minister of the gospel was nominated by the Archbishop of Paris to superintend his diocese; and he was soon after recommended by the good and virtuous Princess Elizabeth to the notice of Louis XVI., at whose execution he assisted in quality of confessor. No mention of the melancholy particulars of that day is here made: we find, however, that his body was sprinkled with royal blood, and being dressed, not in *canonicals*, but in a common surtout, he escaped without any difficulty from the fatal scaffold, and was soon lost in the crowd.

After experiencing a variety of perils, the good Abbé found means to leave France, and was soon after taken under the protection of Louis XVIII., whom he accompanied to Mittau in Courland. In 1800, he observes in a letter to a correspondent, "I am confident that the French will, sooner or later, return to their former masters, though it be impossible at present, to say by what means or when." Of his present majesty, he expresses himself thus in 1804: "The King is not only a believer, but to the whole extent of the word, a truly religious prince, endowed with every virtue that makes (adorns) the saints, and with a capacity far superior to what I have met with in any other men (man) upon earth. Unfortunately, he is, as to body, of a most corpulent disposition, which renders him less fit than he would otherwise be for restoring matters in France."

This pious and worthy clergyman was seized with the gaol-fever, in consequence of his attentions to the French prisoners at Mittau, where he died after a short illness, on May 22, 1807. On this occasion, the Duchess of Angouleme administered his medicines to him with her own hand.

## No. III.

THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, IN PROSE AND VERSE, OF  
 GEORGE HARDINGE, Esq. M. A. F. S. A. SENIOR  
 JUSTICE OF THE COUNTIES OF BRECON, GLAMORGAN, AND  
 RADNOR. 3 vols. 8vo.

NOTWITHSTANDING we have already presented our readers with a memoir of this gentleman, (see Vol. II.) yet we gladly recur to the work now before us, as it contains full and authentic materials for a complete life. Indeed his biographer, in addition to his own resources, has been assisted by the family; both the brother, and nephew of the deceased having readily furnished all the information in their power.

As we have already stated the particulars of Mr. Hardinge's birth, and education; it only remains to record the manner of his death, accompanied by a very favourable sketch of his character, which has been partly suggested by many amiable qualities, and partly by the partiality of Mr. Nichols' friendship. "In the latter end of March, 1816, Mr. Justice Hardinge set out on the business of the circuit. In some letters, previous to his quitting home, he told his friends, that he was suffering from a heavy cold; which, to use his own words, had not 'separated his nose from the fire:' but he was first taken seriously ill at Ross.

"The immediate cause of his decease was an inflammation of the pleura; and it is probable that his personal exposure to the Easterly winds then prevalent was the inducing cause of the unfortunate attack. He had also suffered much by a fall from his horse (being partial to that exercise, he often took long journeys on horseback, attended only by his valet), which was supposed to have hastened his death.

"On his journey to Cardiff, he increased his cold in that degree that he could not act in his judicial capacity. Yet he

went on his Circuit, through Brecon, to Presteigne; where, on his arrival, he was attended by a physician: but the disorder had become a confirmed pleurisy, and was at such a height that relief from bleeding was ineffectual. It was tried; but the fever was at this time very great, and he complained of it.

“ He died at Presteigne, April 26, 1816, in the 72d year of his age; leaving behind him the character of possessing, rather than profiting by, great talents.

“ From his father, he enjoyed a very good hereditary estate; and with his wife, who still survives him, he obtained a very handsome dower. Either or both of these circumstances, united with a strong love for independence, might have rendered him less anxious for advancement.

“ Mr. Hardinge seems to have had some forebodings of the melancholy event which took him from his friends and the world.

“ In one of his latest letters to Lady Knowles, he says, ‘ I despair of taking leave of Davies, until the undertaker is waiting for me.’ He had proposed to visit at Kingsland the shrine of Dr. Davies. His remains passed through Kingsland, to be interred with those of his family at Kingston-upon-Thames.

“ A melancholy association with the recollection of the intended visit to the tomb of his last favoured hero of Taste and Virtue is formed in the mind: and painful moral feelings of regret arise, which teach us more forcibly to remember that—man proposes, but God disposes.

“ Mr. Hardinge was rather short of stature, but very handsome, with a countenance expressive of the good qualities he possessed. His temper was admirable, and his perseverance in the cause of those he protected most extraordinary and exemplary.

“ When we consider that few live to the advanced age Mr. Hardinge attained without sustaining a loss in some material faculty, we shall more highly prize the rare gifts he enjoyed, both mentally and bodily; for, excepting the wrinkles and grey hairs which hoary time by its iron grasp will leave on the

strongest, his life may be said to have been mental youth, and his death a short interruption and passage to that blessed state of perfection which his goodness and philanthropy sought after while on earth.

“ As a Christian, Mr, Hardinge, in all circumstances, and in every part of his life, appears to have been a steady believer; and, at times, pious and devout in the extreme.

“ In the character of a Judge he was irreproachable; and his various charges for many years, at the different assizes in Wales, are admirable.

“ In that respectable function, one of the latest acts of his life was the sifting to the bottom the grounds upon which all judges before his time had charged juries in cases of child-murder. Some excellent notes for a charge were prepared by the benevolent judge in April, 1816, not many days before his decease; but he did not live to deliver it.

“ Mr. Hardinge's ideas on this subject were fully confirmed by the unquestionable concurrent opinions of several professional gentlemen of first-rate eminence: and that this important subject had long before excited his attention, will appear from a letter addressed in 1805 to Dr. Horsley, then Bishop of St. Asaph.

“ Mr. Hardinge had brilliant talents, and a power of showing them so as to afford to his companions and correspondents the greatest gratification.

“ The *talent of society* he possessed in an eminent degree; and the rank which he held among the wits of this day, and the illustrious personages by whom he was admitted into familiarity, sufficiently evince how much, in conversation at least, he must have displayed the gentleman and the scholar.

“ In conversation indeed he had few equals; as he had an astonishing flow and choice of words, and an animated delivery of them, such as few persons possess. He delighted in pleasantries, and always afforded to his auditors an abundance of mirth and entertainment, as well as information.

“ His passion for the Muses commenced in infancy; and continued to the close of life.



“ The correspondence of Mr. Hardinge was most extensive. His Letters were extraordinary, from their wit, fancy, and gaiety. They seemed to be the productions of a youth of twenty, rather than a man upwards of sixty years of age. Of his various compositions his Letters were pre-eminent.

“ Notwithstanding his talents and acquirements, he had a rare humility for an author, being ready at all times to adopt the suggestions of his friends, in preference to his own expressions. Of this he gave a striking proof, in permitting me to expunge some unpleasant reflections on a deceased commentator on *Shakspeare*, for whom I had a great respect, and whom he had treated somewhat too cavalierly.

“ On the suggestion of a gentleman on whose judgment he had great reliance, he destroyed one of his early productions, on which he had bestowed much labour.

“ Mr. Hardinge, like the generality of mankind, was not without his failings. Men of genius are often negligent in concerns they deem trivial. Anxious as he was that his own literary productions should be preserved, his inattention to their preservation is much to be lamented.

“ Those who were in habits of intimacy with him must have experienced the frequency with which he requested the loan of books; and sometimes the difficulty of recovering them from what he called ‘ the *Chaos* of his library.’

“ But, whatever were his merits or his defects, they were greatly overbalanced by his active benevolence. By ardent zeal and perseverance he obtained immense sums by subscription, for such persons as he thought worthy of his protection. This activity of friendship, almost always successful, was the principal feature in his character. It was wholly disinterested; it was noble and ought to be held forth to general example.”

We lament exceedingly that the circumscribed limits of our review will not afford space sufficient to enter into a detailed account of the various productions contained in these three volumes. We willingly, however, bear testimony to that high sense of delicacy, which induced his worthy biographer to suppress the papers reflecting on Mr. Malone, and his literary labours.

# BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

## OF DEATHS,

FOR 1819.

COMPILED IN PART FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS, AND IN PART  
FROM CONTEMPORARY PUBLICATIONS.

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### A.

ANSON, Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Viscount Anson, of Shugborough and Orgrave, in the county of Stafford, Baron Soberton, of Soberton, in Hampshire, LL.D.

Lord Viscount Anson, born February 17, 1767, was great-nephew to that bold and fortunate circumnavigator, who, after taking an immense Spanish galleon, loaded with treasure, returned to England with wealth sufficient to enrich both himself and the gallant crew, in the sole remaining ship.

While Commodore George Anson, he married Eliza, daughter of Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. He was soon appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; he next undertook a cruise as an admiral, and, in 1747, proved victorious against a French fleet, commanded by M. Jonquire, an officer of considerable talents and address, whose flag was flying on board the *Invincible*. On ascending the quarter-deck, and presenting his sword to the English admiral, he paid him the following eloquent compliment: "Monsieur, vous avez vaincu l'*Invincible*, et la gloire vous suit."

Immediately after this he was created Baron of Soberton; in 1751 he was nominated first Lord Commissioner of

the Admiralty, and died suddenly in 1762, while walking in his garden, at his seat (Moor Park) in the county of Hertford. At the very period when this melancholy event took place, a patent was actually making out for the express purpose of creating his lordship a viscount, with remainder to his sister's son, George Adams, Esq., of Orgrave, in Staffordshire.

This gentleman and his issue, in pursuance of a will of another uncle, by license under royal sign manual, dated April 30, 1773, were authorised to take and assume the arms of Anson. After this he represented, first, the borough of Saltash, and afterwards the City of Lichfield, in several parliaments. In 1763 Mr. Anson married Mary, daughter of George Venables Vernon, first Lord Vernon, by whom he had issue.

Thomas Anson, Esq., his eldest son, on the demise of his father, succeeded to the family estates, and on September 14, 1794, married Anne Margaret, second daughter of Thomas William Coke, of Holkham, in the county of Norfolk, Esq., descended, by the female side, from the famous Lord Chief Justice of the same name, by whom he has had a very numerous issue. By letters patent, dated February 17, 1806, when Mr. Fox came again into power, His Majesty, on the intervention of that statesman, was most graciously pleased to extend to him the ancient honours

actually possessed by his great uncle, as well as those further ones intended for that distinguished commander, and only intercepted by his premature death. It is almost unnecessary to add, that this is, and ever has been, a distinguished whig family.

Lord Viscount Anson died in 1818, and is succeeded by his eldest son, Thomas William, late M. P. for the borough of Yarmouth, in Norfolk.

ATKINS, Mr. Richard, was born in 1747, and bred a printer. In this capacity he repaired to Eton, and was employed during the long period of fifty-five years as a compositor of the Greek and Latin books published for the use of that celebrated institution. He died there in 1819, at the age of 72, and is said never to have been known to spend an idle day, or even an idle hour, during the last half century of his life.

## B.

BAKER Richard. This appears to have been a very singular character; and it is evident, that he could not have practised such a series of impositions with impunity, in perhaps any other county in the kingdom.

Richard Baker, of Westleigh, in the parish of Burliscombe, Somersetshire, a small farmer (but better known by the name of "*Conjurer Baker*"), died in 1819, full of years and iniquities, being 70 years old, and having, during the far greater part of his life, practised the gainful tactics of the "*Black Art*."—In noticing the death of a character, who, for nearly a half a century, has been daily and hourly employed in alternately counting the wages of his villainies, and in laughing at the follies of a cheated multitude, it would be no unfit opportunity for taxing the risibilities of our readers, by portraying the deceased knave with all the mirthful embellishments of which his life and occupations are so abundantly susceptible. In common justice, we might for once laugh at him, who has, in so many thousand instances, amused and profited himself by making a jest of others; but his life is too much clogged with the heaviness of a guilty account, to allow one redeeming ray to qualify the lurid aspect of his mortal reckoning.

It may surprise a northern or southern resident, whose ears have never been afflicted with the doleful superstitions of the western counties, to be informed, that such was the fame of the deceased

wizard, that the educated as well as the uninstructed of all classes, were in the habits of resorting to him from all parts of this and the neighbouring counties for the exercise of his cabalistic skill, and on a Sunday, which was the day for his high orgies, vehicles of superior as well as of lowly descriptions were found to bring him an eager throng of votaries.

His reputation was universal, and his gains proportionate. The wonders of his head would fill the Alexandrian library. Bad crops, lost cattle, lost treasure, and lost hearts, brought their respective sufferers in ceaseless crowds to his door. They were all *overlooked*, he said; and they overlooked his knavery in their confidence of his skill. He foretold to the Southcottonians that the Shiloh could *not* come, and who but a conjurer would have known this? The tenant of sterile land was, after a careful inspection of his presiding star, advised to provide a certain quantity of manure, which being spread over his ground in the form of ram's horns at 12 o'clock precisely on the full moon night, would infallibly secure a good crop. This astonishing prediction has been repeatedly verified! Strayed stock, and mislaid property, has been strangely recovered, by only being well looked after, provided the wise man had once taken the matter in hand; and many a relenting Phillis, who had parted with her Strephon in a *huff*, has been heard to exclaim on finding him return at the very hour calculated by the conjurer,—that "*sure Baker and the devil were in partnership.*"—If to juggling, artifices, and petty fooleries of this description, the man had limited his imposture he might have left the world with the simple reputation of a knave; but his avarice led him to delude the victim of disease into a fatal reliance on his affected skill, and very numerous are the instances of this description. Charmed Powders, and Mystic Lotions were confided in, to the exclusion of rational advice and proper remedies, and the death of the old and young has been the consequent penalty of such deplorable imbecility. A child, sometime since, died at Wellington, a martyr to its mother's folly. She consulted the heartless villain, and was assured that the infant was "*overlooked.*" Some powders were given to her, accompanied with the slang verbosity of his craft, which the little sufferer was compelled to swallow, notwithstanding the mother declared that "*it made her heart bleed to see the agonies of her child while*

taking the dose." The consequence was as we have stated; and thus the guilt of a cold-blooded murderer, is superadded to the atrocities which have marked the career of this miscreant through life. His habits were those of an unsocial drunkard; but his Necromancy, notwithstanding the expence of his selfish indulgence, has enabled him to leave some property.

BENTINCK, Lord C. Cavendish at his house near Brussels, in the 76th year of his age. He was brother to the late, and uncle to the present Duke of Portland.

BLUCHER, Field Marshal, Prince of Wahlstadt, terminated a life of glory, at his seat, of Kriblowitz in Silesia, at 10 o'clock in the evening of the 12th of September, 1819, in the 77th year of his age. This officer entered the Prussian service at an early period of life, and was from the beginning attached to the cavalry. Rising by degrees during the late war with France, he distinguished himself on a variety of occasions, at the head of a body of light horse, armed and accoutred after the Cossack fashion, so that he at length became formidable to the enemy. But it was at the battle of Waterloo that he acquired the best title to public admiration, by sustaining, with his own division, the charge of the whole French line. The King of Prussia, who had made him a prince and presented him with a large estate, visited him on his death bed, and certified his high approbation of his conduct. His Highness was born December 16, 1742, and had served 45 years in that army which has gone into mourning for his loss.

BOYLE, Hon. William, youngest son of the Earl of Glasgow, at Ramsgate, died Sept. 6, 1819, in the 17th year of his age.

BRAIDWOOD, Mrs. Isabella, August 1st, 1819, in her 57th year. This lady, born in 1752, was the widow of Mr John Braidwood of Hackney, and mother of Mr, Braidwood, Instructor of the Deaf and Dumb, at Birmingham. Her father, Mr. Thomas Braidwood of Edinburgh, was the first who systematically attempted in this country, to infuse the pleasures and benefits of education into those unhappy children, who were deprived of the powers of speech, and hearing. This lady employed also the greater portion of her life, in the same laudable endeavours.

BROWNE, Major of the Royal Marines, at Charlton, in Kent, in a fit of mental derangement, Oct. 15, 1819.

BROWN, George, Esq. at his house in Baker Street, Portman Square, May 1, 1819. He was born in 1776, and repaired at an early age to India, where he rose to be a member of the counsel of Bombay.

BUCHAN Hepburn, Sir George, of Smeaton and Letham, Bart. late one of the barons of the Exchequer in Scotland. This gentleman, who was a native of Scotland, was born in March, 1739. By his father's side, he claimed his descent from the Earls of Buchan; and by his mother's from James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, and Duke of Orkney, husband of Mary Queen of Scots.

Being destined for the bar, Mr. Buchan, as he was then called, was educated accordingly, and made considerable advances in every branch of classical learning. According to the custom of that day, when the sciences of law and medicine, were both studied in Holland, he spent one whole year at Leyden to study the Civilians; and after this he completed his course at the University of Edinburgh. Luckily for him, at this period, he formed an intimacy with Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, which proved eminently serviceable in future life. In 1763, the subject of this memoir was admitted a Member of the Faculty of Advocates, and in 1764, the estate of his maternal uncle having devolved to him by will, he assumed the *addendum* of Hepburn.

An increase of fortune produced no diminution of professional diligence. In 1767, Mr. Buchan Hepburn was nominated Solicitor to the Lords of Session as Commissioners of Teinds (Tithes), and in 1790 he was appointed Judge of the High Court of Admiralty of Scotland; and in 1800, was constituted one of the Barons of Exchequer. This important station was filled by him with equal dignity and effect until the close of the year 1814, when he retired with a Baronetcy, and a considerable pension, to enable the legislature to introduce the trial by Jury into his Court. Sir George was twice married; and, by his first wife, has left a son and successor Sir John. Soon after his accession to the Hepburn fortune Sir George built a charming country house, and was accustomed to entertain his friends there, in the most hospitable manner. He was greatly addicted to agriculture, and, at the request of the board of agriculture, drew up the first report relative to the county of Haddington.

A few months since, alarming symptoms of illness began to disclose them-

selves, and, after a long and severe struggle, he died June 26, 1819, in the 81st year of his age.

The following character, is from the pen of one of his own friends :

"Sir George, in his younger days, spent most of his time with his grandfather at Longniddry, a place where husbandry was studiously exercised ; he, at an early period, entertained a predilection for agricultural pursuits, which never left him whilst he was capable of attending to the business of the field. The principles which he held concerning the first of all arts were not only singularly correct, but, what was of more importance, his practice was equal to that of the first rate farmer. In short, he not only farmed well, but he also farmed with profit, circumstances too often overlooked by landed gentlemen when any considerable part of their estates is taken under their own management.

"As a leading man in the politics of the county, Sir George Buchan Hepburn had for many years acted a distinguished part. But, without entering upon this wide field, it may only be said, that to his influence may justly be ascribed the uncommon and unprecedented harmony which long prevailed in his native county. Trained early to business, and gifted by Nature with mild and liberal dispositions, he was eminently qualified to take a lead in public matters. Few persons, in fact, were more capable than Sir George of managing business at a public meeting. Intimately acquainted with the laws of his country, and endowed with sufficient powers to explain and illustrate them in a satisfactory manner, he was at all times listened to with attention by the justices and freeholders, especially as he was quite free of that bigotted obstinacy which too often induces others to persist in measures after their popularity is discovered and ascertained. In a word, the death of this respectable gentleman may justly be considered as a great loss to the county of Haddington."

**BURCHARDT**, Rev. Christopher. This Missionary Clergyman, who has been preaching the gospel in foreign parts, and dispensing bibles, and religious tracts, with a liberal hand, was a native of Switzerland. He died at Aleppo, in Jan. 1819; and the following account of him has been transmitted from Mr. Naudi, who is now at Malta. "After his persevering travels from the distribution of the Holy Scriptures in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, he had

scarcely arrived at Aleppo, when a fatal fever, then raging in the neighbourhood, put an end to his most valuable life. He left Malta in a Greek vessel, with six large cases of Bibles and Testaments, in various languages, without any of those fears which had deterred others, and courageously distributed them in Alexandria, where he openly conversed with peasants, strangers, and merchants ; and where so many seamen applied to him, that he said, "The Greek Testament which he had dispersed would only be like so many drops thrown into the sea." He thence departed for Grand Cairo, where Jews, Turks, Syrians, Copts, Christians, and Pagans, visited him ; and where he could have dispersed a far greater number of copies if he had possessed them. From Cairo he went to Jerusalem, where he visited all the convents and public places, and furnished them every where with copies. Leaving Jerusalem, going by Syria, and visiting the places on the road, he came to the great commercial city of Aleppo, in the neighbourhood of which the fever attacked him, and closed his life and labours."—The personal exertion and fatigue of such a journey may readily be conceived ; but the incessant labour of speaking, and recommending with urgency the great work in which he had embarked, on every step of his journey, and to every party to whom he was introduced, may scarcely be imagined ; and of him it may now be said, that he rests from his labours and his works do follow him.

**BURROUGH**, Lady, wife of the Hon. Mr. Justice Burrough, Oct. 9, 1819, in Bedford-Row, London, aged 57.

**BUTSCHER**, Rev. Leopold at the settlement of Sierra Leone, on an eminence, called Leicester mountain, July 17th, 1818.

Mr. Butscher had occupied an important post there under the Church Missionary Society for several years, and had been one of its earliest Missionaries. His constitution had become injured to the climate by a residence of nearly eleven years. After an illness of about a fortnight, at first slight, but ending in a severe Cholera Morbus, his terrestrial labours were closed! — Mr. Garnon had caused him to be removed from Leicester mountain to Freetown, that he might have every advantage and comfort ; but this very benevolent design proved abortive! — great respect was paid to his memory ; his loss has been deeply regretted, and he is gone to reap the rich harvest of his pious and exem-

plary zeal in the cause and promulgation of Divine truth! He had by his exertions laid the foundation of the *Christian Institution* in that colony. A large Church, capable of containing all the children, as well as the people of Leicester Town, had been nearly finished under his direction. The neighbouring land was beginning to be cultivated, and many of the children had learnt useful trades. This Institution, the only one of the kind in Africa, will ever remain an undeniable evidence of the anxiety of the Society, and of their pious servant, to promote, to the utmost of their power the civilization of Africa; and it must, and ever will, command the gratitude of the African race. The boys, 200, and girls, 50, at their last examination previous to his death, went through the different exercises in the Church on Leicester mountain, in a manner creditable both to themselves and to their teachers. The site of the church commands a most extensive view of the town, harbour, and sea. It will stand as a land-mark of Christianity. The sailor, on seeing its spire from afar, will return praise to God, and bless his country for having thus afforded an asylum to the oppressed African. The view of a Church on British ground, in Africa, proclaims the liberty of the subject:—where true Christianity reigns, slavery is banished. The work has been very great to civilise and Christianise this colony, but it has prospered in the hands of Mr. Butscher and other ministers, happy and able instruments, called to this office, who have now established a regularity in the temporal and spiritual duties of these people which nothing disturbs, but the attempts of Slave dealers on the coast! But a very short time since, these pupils, now decently clothed, and receiving instruction, and passing Christian examinations, were brought to this Colony naked, ignorant of God, and yoked as beasts for labour, or for sale! This once barren wilderness now sings for joy!

## C.

CADELL, William, Esq. at Carron Park, aged 82, September 17, 1819. He was one of the original founders of the great Carron Iron Works, and lived long enough to see that establishment supplying cannon for most of the great states of Europe.

COKER, John, Esq. D. C. L. was bred, first, at Winchester, and then at New College, Oxford, where he took the degree of M. A. in 1776, and discharged

the office of proctor in 1786. He afterwards discharged, for some years, the duty of Chairman of the Quarter Sessions in the county of Oxford, and died at his seat, Boxley, Kent, June 14, 1819. The following lines, by Cowper, are said to have been characteristic of his dress and manners:

“An honest man, close button’d to the chin,

“Broad cloth without, and a warm heart within.”

COLE, the Rev. John, D. D. Chaplain to his R. H. the Duke of Clarence, Pro Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford, &c. at Merazion, in Cornwall, in October, 1819, in the 63d year of his age.

COLLINGWOOD, Lady, at Tyne-mouth, September 17, 1819. She was the widow of the late Admiral Lord Collingwood.

COLLINS, William, Esq. was born in 1751, and died April 27, 1819, at his house, on Maize Hill, Greenwich, in the county of Kent, aged 68.

This gentleman united in his own person a taste for both the elegant and the useful arts. In painting, particularly, he exhibited equal skill and discrimination, and attained a mastery in the delicate art of crayon portraits. But his services to his country have been conspicuous in another point of view. Gifted with a good mechanical genius, he has been engaged ever since the year 1777 in the improvement of machinery connected with the docks; and he long held a contract for the supply of these with pumps for the use of His Majesty's navy. But it is in ship-sheathing that he produced effects highly beneficial to the public. The chemical action of the iron bolts, when in contact with the copper which they were intended to fasten, produced a corrosion that threatened the entire abolition of this most useful practice; but he so contrived as to remedy the inconvenience, by a most ingenious but simple method.

CORNWALLIS, Hon. Admiral, G.C.B. and Vice-Admiral of England. This distinguished naval commander, one of the very last remaining of the *old school*, was born on the 25th of February, 1744. After a long life, devoted to the service of his country, he died at Newlands, in the immediate vicinity of Southampton, in the 76th year of his age. Want of space prevents the insertion of a regular memoir of this gallant admiral in the present, but one shall appear in our next volume.

**CLOGHER**, Bishop of, Right Rev. Father in God, Dr. John Potter, in the kingdom of Ireland. Dr. Potter was, by birth, an Englishman. Having been educated at the University of Cambridge, he became, first, a Fellow, and then a Tutor, at Trinity College; where he took the degrees of A. B. 1773, A. M. 1776, and became S. T. P. *perfit. Reg.* 1792.

It was his good fortune to have the present Marquis of Camden for a patron. That nobleman having repaired to Ireland as Viceroy, nominated Dr. Potter one of his Chaplains. His first episcopal promotion was to the Bishopric of Killaloe, in 1795; and, in 1796, his lordship was translated to the richer see of Clogher. The Bishop died intestate, July 27, 1819, and, in consequence of the sale of many beneficial leases, appertaining to his see, has left an immense sum of ready money behind him.

**CROKER**, Charles, Esq. late a Captain in the 89th Regiment of Foot. This gentleman was the second son of Thomas Croker, of *Glanaboy*, in the county of Waterford, Esq. and descended from one of the most ancient families in the south of Ireland.

Having made choice of the army as a profession, he commenced his career as an ensign in the 89th foot, and shortly after his arrival in the East Indies was appointed Aid de-camp to his uncle, the late Lieutenant-general Robert Croker, whose military talents were duly appreciated by the intrepid Sir Eyre Coote, under whom, in the early part of his life, he had the honour to serve.

In consideration of his uniform bravery and humanity as an officer, Captain Croker's conduct was such as endeared him to the respect of all ranks, for undeviating principles of rectitude, unassuming manners, and, above all, those accomplished feelings which should ever designate the soldier, while they adorn the scholar and the gentleman.

He died early in life, at Cork, in Ireland, on the 9th of April, 1819, of a liver complaint, contracted during his residence in India.

#### D.

**DACRE**, Gertrude, Baroness. This lady, whose maiden name was Roper, was born August 25, 1750. At the age of 21 she gave her hand and heart to Thomas Brand, of the Hoo, Hertfordshire, Esq. a very elegant and expensive commoner, whose hospitality far

exceeded his means. By this gentleman she had two sons, one late Knight of the Shire for the county of Herts; the other, early in life, obtained a commission in the Coldstream Guards, and soon attained the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. The former of these brothers, now Lord Dacre, by a noble exertion of filial piety, paid all the debts of his father, soon after he had come of age. Mrs. Brand succeeded her brother, the late Right Hon. Charles Trevor Roper, in 1794.

Her Ladyship died at her house at Wimbledon, Oct. 3, 1819, in the 69th year of her age.

**DAUNCEY**, Philip, Esq. B. A. King's Counsel, &c. Mr. Dauncey, born in 1759, was the son of a respectable clothier, at *Wotton-under-edge*, in the county of Gloucester. He was educated, first, at the College School of the City of Gloucester, and then entered a commoner at Oriel College, Oxford. After taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was elected a Fellow of Merton.

The bar being the object of his pursuit and his ambition, Mr. Philip Dauncey repaired to town, and entered himself of Gray's Inn. After receiving a call from this ancient society, he attended sessions at home, and followed both the Oxford and Carmarthen circuits. Patience, industry, and a considerable share of talents, soon induced clients to flock around him; and on the retreat of Mr. Palmer he suddenly found himself a leader.

The Court of Exchequer proved the scene of his forensic labours in the capital, and Mr. Edmunds, a very respectable officer of that Court, having taken him under his immediate patronage, he soon obtained considerable eminence there. In 1807 he obtained a silk gown, and from that moment began to be employed on the part of the crown. Indeed we have not only seen him assisting the late Attorney General (Sir Samuel Shepherd), but also entrusted with the sole care of causes of great importance during that gentleman's absence in the other Courts. He had, before this, married Miss Dubrison, by whom he had a promising family of two sons and two daughters, but the premature death of that lady, in 1805-6, filled his bosom with the most poignant affliction. At length, during the summer of 1818, Mr. Dauncey himself began to feel the pressure of disease, yet he continued to practise until obliged to be led out of court by two



friends a few months since, at the *Nisi Prius Court*, at Gloucester. He died soon after, in August, 1819, in the 60th year of his age, leaving behind him a name dear to his surviving family and friends.

Mr. Dauncey was an able lawyer, well acquainted with the practice of the Court, which he attended during Term time, and intimately conversant in all its intricate forms and proceedings. In the examination of evidence he excelled, and he possessed, in no common degree, a judgment, a clearness, and a precision that rendered his services highly valuable to his clients.

DAVIS, Rev. Kinder, Sept. 15th, 1819. He died in Giltspur-Street Compter, in consequence of excessive drinking, a horrid habit, said to have been brought on in consequence of the loss of his wife and son, to both of whom he had been greatly attached. This Clergyman was formerly Rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and a man of considerable property.

DICKER, John, at Badcome, Dorsetshire, Sept. 30th, 1819. He had been employed as earth-stopper, to the several packs of hounds in the western parts of the county, for about 75 years, and was buried by the members of the hunt. A number of old sportsmen attended the funeral of this noted man, who had attained the age of 95.

DRAKE, Rev. Thos., D. D. Sept. 12, 1819, in the 75th year of his age. He was nearly 50 years Vicar of Rochdale, Lancashire, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took all his degrees. He was an orthodox clergyman, and an active magistrate.

#### E.

EAST, Sir William, Bart. of Place, in the county of Berks.

This Bart. born in 1756, and descended from an ancient and respectable family, died October 12th, 1819, at his seat, Hall Place, Berks, in his 83d year. His remains were removed from his residence on the 25th, after having lain in state the preceding day, and were deposited on the 28th in the family vault, at Witham, in Essex. The funeral was attended by his two sons, Sir Gilbert East, Bart. (who has succeeded his father in his titles and estates,) and Augustus Henry East, Esq. by his son-in-law, Sir William Clayton, Bart. and by his five grandsons, &c. &c. the children of his only daughter, Lady Clay-

ton. The service was performed by the Rev. William Wheeler, Chaplain to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

ENTWISLE, John, Esq. This gentleman's name was originally Markland, being the eldest son of John Markland, Esq., of Ardwick, but becoming possessed, in 1787, of the estates of his maternal great grandfather, Bertie Entwisle, Esq. Vice-Chancellor, of the county palatine of Lancaster, he assumed the name and arms of that family. Soon after this, he rebuilt the mansion house at Foxholes, near Rochdale, and acted for many years as a magistrate for the county of Lancaster and Chester, and the West Riding of Yorkshire. He also served the office of High Sheriff of the county of Lancaster, in 1798.

Advancing age, and declining health, having induced him to search for a milder climate, Mr. Entwisle finally settled at Cadoxton Lodge, in Glamorganshire, where he breathed his last, Dec. 16th, 1818, at an advanced age.

He is represented as an active magistrate, a man zealously attached to the civil and religious establishments of his country; as humane, friendly, and sincere, and above all, as tolerant to the opinions of those who differed from him.

#### F.

FARIA, at Paris, of apoplexy, 3d Sept. 1819, the famous Magnetiser.

FELL, The Rev. William, LL. D. at the Rectory House, Brereton, Cheshire, Oct. 1819, in the 79th year of his age.

FOSTER, Mr. Richard at Wakefield, aged 49, in the autumn of 1819. He was born at Dalton, near Huddersfield, and being the son of a respectable woollen-manufacturer, obtained the rudiments of a good education. Bred to the same business as his father, he dedicated his leisure hours to learning, and to a correct knowledge of Greek and Latin, he superadded the acquisition of many of the modern languages. On the death of his father, he became possessed of a small paternal estate, but actuated by a perhaps laudable ambition, he was desirous to become a merchant, and this proved his ruin. The house in which he became partner had goods to a very large amount on the continent, particularly in Holland, and all these were confiscated on the expedition of the Duke of York into that country. This produced a bankruptcy in 1801, which rendered the latter part of Mr. Foster's existence miserable, as he soon found



that talents, without fortune, had ceased to be estimable!

**FRASER**, Hon. Mrs. Jane, at Inverness, Sept. 3, 1819, in the 78th year of her age. This lady was the widow of the late Hon. Archibald Fraser, of Lovat, uncle of the late Sir William Fraser, Bart.

**FRENCH**, Col. Jeremiah, at Parsons-Town, King's County, Ireland, in his 89th year.

## G.

**GARRICK** George, Esq. Sept. 30, 1819, nephew to the celebrated David Garrick.

**GOODWIN** Richard, M. D. Aug. 15, 1819, after a painful and protracted illness, at the Royal Naval Hospital, Plymouth.

**GRAHAM**, Thomas, Esq. of Kinross house, N B., late M. P. for Kinross, in 1819. This gentleman repaired to India, in 1768, as a writer, and at length became one of the Members of the Board of Trade in Bengal. Having acquired an ample fortune, he returned to his native country and represented the shire in which he was born.

**GREEN**, Mr. John, and his wife Elizabeth, of Bromyard, Herefordshire, Sept. 30, 1819, within a few hours of each other. They had been married 59 years, and had 22 children, in little more than 19; their united ages amounted to 160 years.

**GUNTER**, Mr. James, of Berkley-square, confectioner, at Worthing, Sussex, Sept. 17, 1819. Mr. Gunter was born in 1745. He was apprenticed to Mr. Negri, an Italian, who is said to have first introduced ices into this country. The subject of this memoir died of an apoplexy, in his 74th year, leaving behind him an immense fortune, both in land, at Earl's-court, Brompton, and in money in the funds. He made it an invariable rule to marry his daughters to tradesmen only. "as lords would be ashamed of him."

## H.

**HARRAD**, Mr. William, at Birmingham, of apoplexy, January, 1, 1819. This eccentric character was the son of a respectable bookseller and printer at Market Harborough. After an apprenticeship to his own father, he repaired to London, but soon after settled at Stamford, where he became an Al-

derman. With the assistance of Mr. Lowe, a respectable apothecary there, he compiled the *Antiquities* of this place. In 1780, appeared the two first numbers of his *History* of Rutland; but that work was discontinued from the want of encouragement.

Having removed to Mansfield, he compiled and published the history of that place and its environs; and on returning to Market-Harborough, at the death of his father in 1806, that town also became indebted to him for illustration.

Proving unsuccessful both as an author and bookseller, he lived and died in great obscurity.

**HARVEY**, Colonel Sir F. E. Bathurst, at Englefield Green, Berks, 24th Sept. 1819. He was aide-de-camp to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, Secretary to the Duke of Wellington, and Lieut.-Col. of the 14th Dragoons.

**HASLEDEN**, John, at Prescott, Lancashire, Sept. 30, 1819. He was born in 1732, and served in America, in the 15th foot. Before the surrender of Quebec he attended on General Wolfe, as his valet, and on the death of that hero, he was taken into the family of General Murray, with whom he remained until his discharge, in 1761.

**HERRIES**, C. Esq. late Col. Commandant of the Light Horse Volunteers of London and Westminster.

This gentleman was a native of Scotland, and brother to the late Sir James Herries, for many years an eminent banker in St. James-street. He was an eminent merchant of the city of London, trading under the firm of Herries and Naylor.

Mr. Herries, at the breaking out of the war with France, although a very active friend and admirer of Mr. Fox, deemed it necessary to take a decided part in favour of Mr. Pitt, and the administration of that day. It was he who raised and embodied that very loyal and useful corps the Light Horse Volunteers, which he commanded for 25 years.

Colonel Herries, died at an advanced age, in April, 1819; and on the 17th of that month his remains were deposited with military honours, in consequence of a special order from the Commander-in-Chief.

Order of the procession: on foot, in two ranks (except the advanced and rear-guard); advance-guard (mounted); firing party; trumpeters sounding the dead march; the horse of the deceased,

covered with black cloth, boots and spurs reversed, led by the riding-masters.

#### THE CORPSE.

supported, on either side, by Field-Officers of other regiments, and pallbearers; helmet, sword, pistols, and sash, on the coffin.

#### CHIEF MOURNER.

John Charles Herries, Esq. son of the deceased; the regimental chaplain; medical staff; officers according to rank, the juniors leading; non-commissioned officers and privates; honorary members of the regiment; friends of the deceased; rear-guard (mounted); carriages of light horse volunteers; of the friends of the deceased.

At a quarter before two o'clock the procession entered Westminster Abbey. It was there met by the Dean and Clergy. The Dean then read the burial service till it came to "I heard a voice from heaven," which was solemnly sung.

At the conclusion of the service, three volleys were fired, one in the grave, and two in the air; after which the whole party separated. The Abbey was crowded at an early hour by persons of respectability.

HOPE, John, Esq. in his 90th year, Sept. 30, 1819. He had been four times Mayor of Derby, and was father of that Corporation.

HOWELL, Joseph, Esq., suddenly, at his seat Markyate Cell, Herts, Oct. 9, 1819. He was born in 1752, at Wisbeach St. Mary in Cambridge-shire, and in due time, rendered himself worthy of a civic crown, by reclaiming a large surface of drowned land in that neighbourhood. After visiting several of his friends and neighbours he fell down, and expired, just as he had entered his parlour to dinner.

#### L.

LEACH, Richard, Esq., at Bedford, in his 65d year, Sept. 12, 1819. He was brother to the Vice-chancellor of England.

LEESON, the Hon. William, in his 49th year, Oct. 7, 1819. He was third son of Joseph, first Earl of Milltown.

LYSTER, Richard, Esq., late M.P. for the city of Shrewsbury, at St. James's place, London, May 3, 1819. He was born in 1771, and entered into the army early in life, so as to obtain the Majority of the 22d Regiment of Dragoons, while the Duke of York commanded on the continent; on

the embodying of the Supplementary Militia for the county of Salop, he was appointed Colonel.

His remains passed through Shrewsbury for interment, to the family vault at Alberbury, on the 3d. The union flag hoisted at the top of Lord Hill's column, was lowered as the procession passed, and the tolling of minute bells in the different churches, while the militia-band played the dead-march in Saul, tended to render the whole solemn and impressive.

#### M

MARRIOTT, the Rev. Robert, M.A., formerly of Caius College, Cambridge, in Oct. 1819, in his 54th year. He had been presented to two livings (Bincomb, and Broadway, Dorsetshire) by that Society, of which he was elected a Fellow.

M'KEE, Mrs. Susannah, widow of the late Mr. William M'Kee, late of Newton Ards, North Britain, on Sept. 1, 1819. This venerable matron had attained the immense age of 101 years. Her issue consisted of eleven children, thirty-six grand-children and ten great great grand children—in all an offspring of 123. Her mother died at the age of 100.

MOLEVILLE, Bertrand de, (from the *Moniteur*, dated Paris, Oct. 19, 1818.)

"The friends of the King and of France, will learn with deep regret the loss they have experienced: they have to deplore the death of a learned and virtuous man, M. Bertrand de Moleville, Minister of Marine under Louis XVI., who displayed the most sincere proofs of his zeal to that monarch, died yesterday at the age of 74.

"He was the author of several esteemed works on the French Revolution; and it is said that he has left several unpublished MSS. which his heirs propose publishing, and which are extremely curious."

M. Bertrand, escaping from his native country, during the reign of terror, took refuge, and found an hospitable asylum here. As he had little or no property, he obtained a small pension from our government; and this enabled him to prepare his numerous literary productions for the press, all of which were in favour of the Bourbon dynasty.

He was born in 1744 and died at Paris, where he had returned, on the restoration of Louis XVIII., Oct. 19, 1818, in the 74th year of his age.

**M'ORNIC, John, LL. D.** of Perth, after a short illness, in the autumn of 1819, in the 64th year of his age. He was formerly Rector of the Academy at Inverness, and of late Secretary to the Literary and Antiquary Society of Perth, in which city he devoted his time to private instruction.

## N.

**NORTON, the Hon. John Chapple,** a General in the Army, and late M. P. for Guilford.

The family, of which this is a younger branch, is descended from the Conyers' of the county of York. Sir John Conyers, sometimes called Norton, of Norton-Conyers, was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1507. His grandson, Richard, having married Susan daughter of Richard Neville, Lord Latimer, engaged in the northern insurrection, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, in consequence of which he was attainted in 1569. Thomas Norton, of Grantley, in the county of York, was one of his descendants; and his son Thomas became the father of Fletcher, the founder of this family.

Fletcher Norton, born Jan. 23, 1716, was bred to the bar, in which profession he evinced great talents, and obtained considerable affluence. In Dec. 1761, when he had attained a mature age, he was appointed Solicitor-general to the King, and honoured as usual with knighthood. In November, 1763, he succeeded to the still more important post of Attorney-general, and in 1769 became Chief Justice in Eyre, south of Trent, which appointment was a sinecure; meanwhile Sir Fletcher had obtained a seat in the House of Commons, having been returned for different boroughs, during several successive parliaments. At length, in consequence of his residence at Womersley near Guilford, he formed a connection with the corporation and freemen of the latter place, in consequence of which both he, and his children afterwards became its representatives.

In 1770, he was chosen Speaker, a high and honourable office, which he filled with no small share of dignity. Indeed he is said to have given offence, by his bold and manly conduct, towards the close of the American war, when on presenting certain money bills, at the bar of the House of Lords, he expressed a wish to the Sovereign in person, "that what his faithful Commons

had granted liberally his Majesty might expend economically." Sir Fletcher was advanced to the peerage, April 9, 1782, and died in 1789.

John-Chapple Norton, called Chapple after his mother, Grace, daughter of Sir Wm. Chapple, Kt. one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench third surviving son of the first Lord Grantley, was born April 2, 1746. At an early period, he obtained a commission in the Guards, and accompanied his regiment to America, where he experienced many of the miseries attendant on a winter's campaign, in that country. While only a captain, he was employed under General Howe, to command a detachment, on an excursion into the interior; but the people of the province were at once so prejudiced, and so inveterate against the English, that he was obliged to return to Philadelphia.

At the conclusion of that disastrous and unfortunate war, Colonel Norton returned to England, and obtained a seat in Parliament, for the borough of Guilford. He was frequently re-chosen for the same place; but never spoke, we believe, in the House of Commons.

During the late French war, we do not find him employed; but in consequence of the rapid promotions that ensued, he became General in the Army, and was also gratified with the 50th regiment of foot; which before the late regulations, afforded a decided advantage, as many of the distinguished officers of the same rank with himself had only the half-pay of majors.

General Norton, was a tall, stout, and full-blooded man; and had been accounted handsome in his youth; but never was married. He died 1818.

## P.

**PEARS, Mr.,** farmer and grazier, at Sleaford, aged 81. He was appointed a constable for the hundred of Langoe, in the reign of George II., was married in 1761, and although he has had several children, never had a death in his family until the occurrence of his own, at an advanced age.

**PERCY, the Rev. William, D.D.** at his house in Upper Seymour-street, in 1819. He was formerly of Queen's Square Chapel, Westminster, and also for some years Rector of St. Paul's, Charleston, South Carolina.

**PERRY, Commodore,** at Trinidad, August 23d, 1819. This commander in

the American navy, was born in 1784, and was accounted one of the bravest and most accomplished officers belonging to the Trans-Atlantic Republic. He died at the early age of 54, leaving a widow and four children behind him.

PERRY, Elizabeth, was born in 1710, and died May 1819, at the great age of 109. She first saw the light at Shirleath, in the parish of Eardisland, and resided at Streamford, Herefordshire, within 200 yards of the same spot, to the day of her death. Her sight was a little impaired; but she could eat, drink, and take snuff (of which latter she was particularly fond) to the last, and could walk about the house and premises, with the assistance of her daughter. This venerable matron (with the exception of a severe surgical operation in the back, which she underwent about 15 years ago) enjoyed, during her life, an almost uninterrupted state of good health, and her death appeared to be merely the result of extreme age; for it was only the day previous to her dissolution that she took to her bed, and her faculties were clear to the last hour. She attributed her protracted life to *hard work and hard living*. She remembered wheat at 2s. 6d. *per* bushel, and muncorn (mixture of wheat and rye) at 18d. *per* bushel; meat from 1d. to 2d. *per* lb.; and butter 2d. *per* lb. Her eldest daughter is an active dame of 84; her youngest son is about 60; her eldest grand-daughter 46, and her eldest great grand-child 12.

PIGOT, Sir Arthur, formerly attorney-general of the island of Grenada, and Ex-attorney-general of Great Britain. Sir Arthur died on Monday, Sept. 6, at his cottage, East Bourne, Sussex, in the 69th year of his age.

## R.

RE, Count M. Felepo, lately at Modena. He was the most celebrated professor of agriculture and botany, in Italy, and his "*Elementa dè Agricoltura*," is the only production on the southern side of the Alps, in which chemistry is applied scientifically for the improvement of agriculture.

RHUDDE, Durand, D.D. Chaplain in ordinary to His Majesty. This venerable clergyman was born in 1753, and educated at King's College, Cambridge, where he proceeded A.B. 1756, A.M. 1759, and S.T.P. 1789. Dr. Rhudde, married Miss Shergold in 1760, by whom he had a son and two

daughters. His preferments have been numerous rather than valuable, counting of the lecturership of St. Dionis, Back church, Fenchurch-street, the vicarage of St. Thomas, Southwark, &c. In 1782, he obtained his last preferment, the rectory of Brentham with East Bergholt; to which was super-added the living of Great Wenham. He died at East Bergholt parsonage, May 6, 1819, in the 86th year of his age.

## S

SANDY, Mr. James. This very singular man, some years since obtained the appellation of the "*celebrated Alyth Mechanic*," and he was fully entitled to the distinction, in consequence of the many ingenious contrivances practised by him. The following account drawn up by one who knew him well, is worthy of attention; and it is only to be lamented that the exact period of his birth has not been mentioned.

"The originality of genius and eccentricities of character, which distinguished this remarkable person, were perhaps never surpassed. Deprived at an early period of life, of the use of his legs, he contrived by dint of ingenuity not only to pass his time agreeably, but to render himself an useful member of society. He soon displayed a taste for mechanical pursuits, and contrived, as a workshop for his operations, a sort of circular bed, the sides of which being raised about eighteen inches above the clothes were employed as a platform for turning lathes, table vices, and cases of tools of all kinds. His genius for practical mechanics, was universal. He was skilled in all kinds of turning; and constructed several very curious lathes, as well as clocks and musical instruments of every description, no less admired for the sweetness of their tone, than the elegance of their execution. He excelled, too, in the construction of optical instruments; and made some reflecting telescopes, the specula of which were not inferior to those finished by the most eminent London artists. He suggested some important improvements in the machinery for spinning flax; and we believe he was the first that made the wooden-jointed snuff-boxes, called Laurencekirk boxes, some of which, fabricated by this self-taught artist, were purchased and sent as presents to the Royal Family. To his other endowments, he added an accurate knowledge of drawing and engraving."

ing, and in both these arts produced specimens of the highest excellence. For upwards of fifty years he quitted his bed only three times, and on these occasions his house was either inundated with water, or threatened with danger from fire. His curiosity, which was unbounded, prompted him to hatch different kinds of birds' eggs by the natural warmth of his body, and he afterwards reared the motley broods with all the tenderness of a parent: so that on visiting him it was no unusual thing to see various singing birds, to which he may be said to have given birth, perched on his head, and warbling the artificial notes he had taught them.

Naturally possessed of a good constitution, and an active, cheerful turn of mind, his house was the general coffee-room of the village, where the affairs of the Church and State were discussed with the utmost freedom. In consequence of long confinement, his countenance had rather a sickly cast, but it was remarkably expressive, and would have afforded a fine subject for the pencil of Wilkie, particularly when he was surrounded by his country friends. This singular man had acquired, by his ingenuity and industry, an honourable independence, and died possessed of considerable property. In short, his history holds out this very instructive lesson, that no difficulties are too great to be overcome by industry and perseverance; and a genius, though it should sometimes miss the distinction it deserves, will seldom fail, unless by its own fault, to secure competency and respectability. He was married only about three weeks before his death, which took place on the 3d of May 1819, at Alyth.

SANDERS, Joseph, Esq., principal partner of the Exeter bank, 17th Sept. 1819. He died at the advanced age of 89.

SETON, Archibald, Esq. was born in 1758, and educated in Scotland. At the age of about 22, an appointment having been obtained for him, as a Civilian, he repaired to Bengal, and remained there during an almost unexampled period of thirty-eight years. After being employed as is usual, in some inferior offices, he was at length entrusted with the collection of the Revenues and administration of the Civil and Criminal Justice in the Districts of Bhangoipore and Behar. He was then promoted to a seat in the Provincial Court of Justice in the Province of Behar; and on the occasion of the cession of a portion of the dominions of his Excellency the

Nabob Vizier to the East India Company, in the year 1801, he was removed to the same station in the ceded provinces, and was one of the Gentlemen selected by Marquis Wellesley to assist the Right Honourable Sir Henry Wellesley, G. C. B. in the discharge of the trust of the office of Lieutenant-governor of those Provinces. In the year 1806, Mr. Seton was appointed to the office of President at the Court of his Majesty Shah Allum, at Delhi, and performed the grateful duty of securing the happiness of the last few months of the life of that interesting Prince, and also of providing for the comfort of his son and successor, the present Emperor of Hindostan, on the accession of the latter to the Musnud. The arrangements made by Mr. Seton for the management of the territory to the Westward of the Jumna, assigned for the maintenance of the Royal Family at Delhi, during the years in which he retained the office of President at his Majesty's Court from 1806 to 1811, were equally honourable to his own character, and well calculated to promote the welfare of all classes of the inhabitants of that territory, and their advantages have been permanent. In the year 1811, Mr. Seton accompanied the late Earl of Minto on the expedition against the Island of Java; and after the successful conquest of that island, he was appointed to the office of Governor of Prince of Wales's Island. From that station he was promoted, in the year 1812, by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, as the reward of his long services, to a seat in the Supreme Council at Fort William in Bengal, which he filled with much credit for five years, and was on his return to his native country in 1818 at the period of his death. During the long period of Mr. Seton's services, he had the happiness to possess in succession, and in the fullest extent, the well-merited confidence of every Governor under whom he acted, after he had obtained a certain distinction in the service, viz. the Marquises Cornwallis and Wellesley, and the Lords Minto and Teignmouth. Early in the last year, Mr. Seton determined to return to Europe. He was extremely anxious once more to behold the country that had given him birth, as he had been at length enabled by means of a competent fortune to enjoy all the comforts it afforded. But such was not the will of Providence, for he died at sea, March 30, 1818, on board the William Pitt East India-

man, on the passage from St. Helena to England, in the 61st year of his age.

**SHAFTESBURY**, the Right Honourable Dowager Countess of, at Florence, in the summer of 1819.

**SHEE**, M<sup>r</sup>.K. John, Esq. Sept. 30, 1819, formerly of St. James's Place. He was the original founder of the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick.

**SIBBALD**, Sir James, Bart. at Fulham House, Hammersmith, aged 77, Sept. 17, 1819, after an illness of many years duration. The baronetcy descends to his nephew, Mr. now Sir David Scott, one of the Directors of the East India Company.

**SMITH**, William, Esq. comedian, born in 1750 or 1751, was the son of a London tradesman. He was educated first at Eton, and next at St. John's, Cambridge; but the sudden death of his father, put a period to his collegiate studies and advancement. He now fixed on the stage as a profession; and obtained considerable celebrity. Being a handsome man, he formed an alliance with Elizabeth, second daughter of Edward-Richard Viscount Bolingbroke, who died in 1762. We shall probably present our readers with a more extensive memoir of this gentleman; but in the mean time it may be necessary to observe, that on withdrawing from a theatrical life, he retired to his beloved residence at Bury St. Edmund's in the county of Suffolk, in his 89th year, Sept. 13, 1819, leaving property behind to the amount of nearly 18,000*l*. on the interest of which, he had contrived to live, so as for many years to enjoy his favourite amusement of fox-hunting.

**SOMERVILLE**, Right Honourable Lord. Of this nobleman, we possess ample materials for a regular memoir, which shall appear in our next volume. Meanwhile it may be necessary to observe, that he was one of the greatest and most scientific agriculturists this country has ever possessed. His lordship chiefly applied himself of late years to the cultivation of stock, and succeeded to an unexampled degree in breeding, feeding, and fattening his various kinds of sheep, cows, and oxen. Lord Somerville was struck by the hand of death in the midst of his career, and died at Vevey, in Switzerland, Oct. 6, 1819.

**SPARROW**, Lieut.-Colonel P. at Jamaica, Aug. 22, 1819. He was Deputy Adjutant-General in Ratisland.

**SPRY**, the Rev. John Teasdale,

M. A. at the age of 85, Sept. 30th, 1819. He was Vicar of Marysrow and Thruselton, in Devonshire, and formerly of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge.

**ST. CLAIR**, Major-General. This gentleman, a native of America, at an early period of the war of independence, took up arms in behalf of his native country. Having distinguished himself on a variety of occasions, he soon rose to high commands; notwithstanding which, he died in Jan. 1819, in great indigence, in that country for which he had fought and bled.

**ST. JOHN**, Hon. General Henry. The St. Johns justly claim to be considered as a very ancient English family which originally came from the continent, and, obtaining lands, settled here. There are two branches of these; the elder consists of the Barons St. John of Bletsoe, formerly Viscounts Bolingbroke; the head of the younger, is St. John Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John, Baron St. John, of Lydiard tregoze, Baron St. John of Battersea.

Sir Henry St. John, Bart. was created Viscount St. John, four years subsequently to his eldest son's promotion to the title of Bolingbroke. The latter was the celebrated Henry St. John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke, one of the most able and accomplished men of the age in which he lived, although deemed very equivocal on the score of religion. In 1704, he was appointed Secretary of State; and in 1712, after obtaining the title alluded to above, he deemed it necessary to retire to France, for the purpose of sheltering himself from the vengeance of his enemies. Notwithstanding this, articles of impeachment were exhibited against him, and on the 10th of Sept. 1714, he was attainted by both houses of Parliament. During his exile he became Secretary of State to the representative of the house of Stuart, then an exile also; but finding him to be a weak man, and perceiving that his partisans neither possessed vigour nor union, he determined if possible to make his peace at home. On this occasion he succeeded to a certain degree only, for Walpole, who was jealous of his great and unrivalled talents, was determined to keep from all participation in power and consequence. Notwithstanding this, he found means to acquire the confidence, and enjoy the friendship of the late Prince of Wales, father to his present Majesty, by whom he was always treated with a degree of respect worthy of his abilities.

Henry St. John, of whom we now

treat, was a younger son of John Viscount Bolingbroke, by Ann, daughter, and co-heir of Sir Robert Furnese, Bart. Being destined from early life, to the military profession, he soon rose to the first station in the British army, having in due time, attained the rank of General, together with a Colonelcy of a regiment of the line. In 1771, he married Barbara, daughter of Thomas Bladen, Esq. and sister to Henrietta, Countess Dowager of Essex, and died in 1818.

General St. John was a man of the world. He possessed easy manners, a genteel address, and an amiable disposition. But he stood too high in the army list, perhaps, to be employed during the late contest with France; and indeed, whatever might have been his merits, his increasing years and infirmities must have prohibited any appointment of this kind.

STEWART, the Rev. Charles Edward, M.A. Oct. 8th, 1819, in his 71st year. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and obtained the Rectory of Wakes, Colne, Essex, and Rede, Suffolk, in succession. This gentleman possessed a lively poetical imagination, and was author of "Trifles in Verse," &c.

#### T.

TELLER, Marshal Baron, at Vienna, in Sept., 1819. He was formerly a contractor for the Austrian army and accumulated a large fortune; but on his death ten florins were only found appertaining to him. He was buried at the expense of his former coachman.

THOMAS, the Rev. Thomas, at Peckham, Surrey, formerly of Maes in Carmarthenshire, Oct. 1819. He was the author of sermons, and elegies in verse.

THOMSON, Lieut.-Col. Richard, at Clifton, Sept. 30th, 1819. This gallant officer had reluctantly retired from the service, in consequence of the loss of his right arm at the siege of Flushing, in 1809.

THORPE, Lieut.-Col. Peregrine Francis, at Bath, Oct. 10, 1819, in the 69th year of his age. He was formerly an officer of the 4th Regiment of Foot, and of late years has enjoyed the profitable appointment of Military-Auditor-General on the Island of Ceylon.

TUCKER, William, Esq. at Down St. Mary, Devonshire, Sept. 30, aged 79.

He has left property to the amount of nearly 100,000*l.* among his relatives.

TUCKET, Rt. Hon. George Thicknesse, sixteenth Baron Audley.

"JE LE TIENS," *Mot.*

Lord Audley was born Feb. 14th, 1758. He was the son of the celebrated Governor Thicknesse, by Lady Betty, the daughter of the Earl of Castleton, and early in life obtained a commission in the army by means of Lord Bateman, in consequence of which he repaired to Gibraltar. After a short residence there, he returned to England.

At the age of 19, Mr. Thicknesse succeeded his uncle, John, the last Earl of Castleton, as Baron Audley, (April 28th, 1777,) and, by permission of his Majesty, assumed the arms and name of Tucket, (April 3, 1784,) about seven years after.

His Lordship was twice married, first, on May 19, 1781, to Elizabeth daughter and co-heiress of the late John Lord Delaval, who died in 1785. By this lady, he had issue: 1. Elizabeth Susannah, who afterwards became the wife of John Cousens, Esq.; 2. George-John, now 17th Baron Audley, born in March, 1783, and lately married at Brussels, to a daughter of Admiral Donelly.

The late Lord Audley had, for his second wife, Mrs. Moorhouse, the opulent widow of a distinguished officer, Lieut.-Col. Moorhouse, who was killed at the siege of Maryalore, in the East Indies, who survives him. After occasionally residing at Edinburgh and Dublin, his Lordship died at his seat at Sandridge Lodge, Wiltshire, in his 61st year, on Aug. 23, 1818.

#### V.

VANSITTART, Mrs., in 1819, at her house at Blackheath, in the 81st year of her age. She was the widow of the late H. Vansittart, Esq. who was lost, many years since, on his passage to India, and mother of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is said that this lady refused to wear mourning for her husband, who she supposed was wrecked on some uninhabited island; and would return at length to his native country.

#### W.

WALLACE, Robert, Esq. Sept. 12, 1819, at Rosslane Fort, in the county



of Wexford, for many years a justice of the peace for that district. He died suddenly, while in the act of shaving.

WARDEN, Lieut.-Col. Francis, died at his apartments in Somerset street, April 14, 1819, at the age of 40. He repaired to Bombay at a period when he had scarcely attained his 16th year. The disease that proved fatal, was an enlargement of the heart, obtained during hard service, in an unfavourable climate.

WATSON, Lady, the widow of the late Sir Brook Watson, Bart., at East Sheen, Surrey, Sept. 10, 1819.

WHITE, the Rev. John, M.A. Mr. White who was a native of North Walsham, county of Norfolk, was born in 1745. After the usual preliminary education he repaired to Caius College, Cambridge, and in 1765 was the senior Wrangler of the Tripos. As a fellow of that society for some years, Mr. White, who was in orders, obtained the livings of Chevington and Hargrave, both in Suffolk. This gentleman not only proved an ornament to the University in which he was educated, but to society at large. He accordingly died Dec. 4, 1818, in his 74th year, greatly respected and lamented.

WILLIS, Henry Norton, Esq., F.R.S. F.S.A. This gentleman, the son of a medical practitioner, at Andover, Hants, was originally an officer in the Hants militia. He afterwards obtained

a place in the King's household, by the intervention of Earl Talbot, then High Steward, and at length became Secretary to a former Duke of Dorset, when that nobleman filled the same station. Having been reduced in consequence of Mr. Burke's Reformation Bill, in 1783, he retired on a pension, and settled at Sunning Hill, Berks.

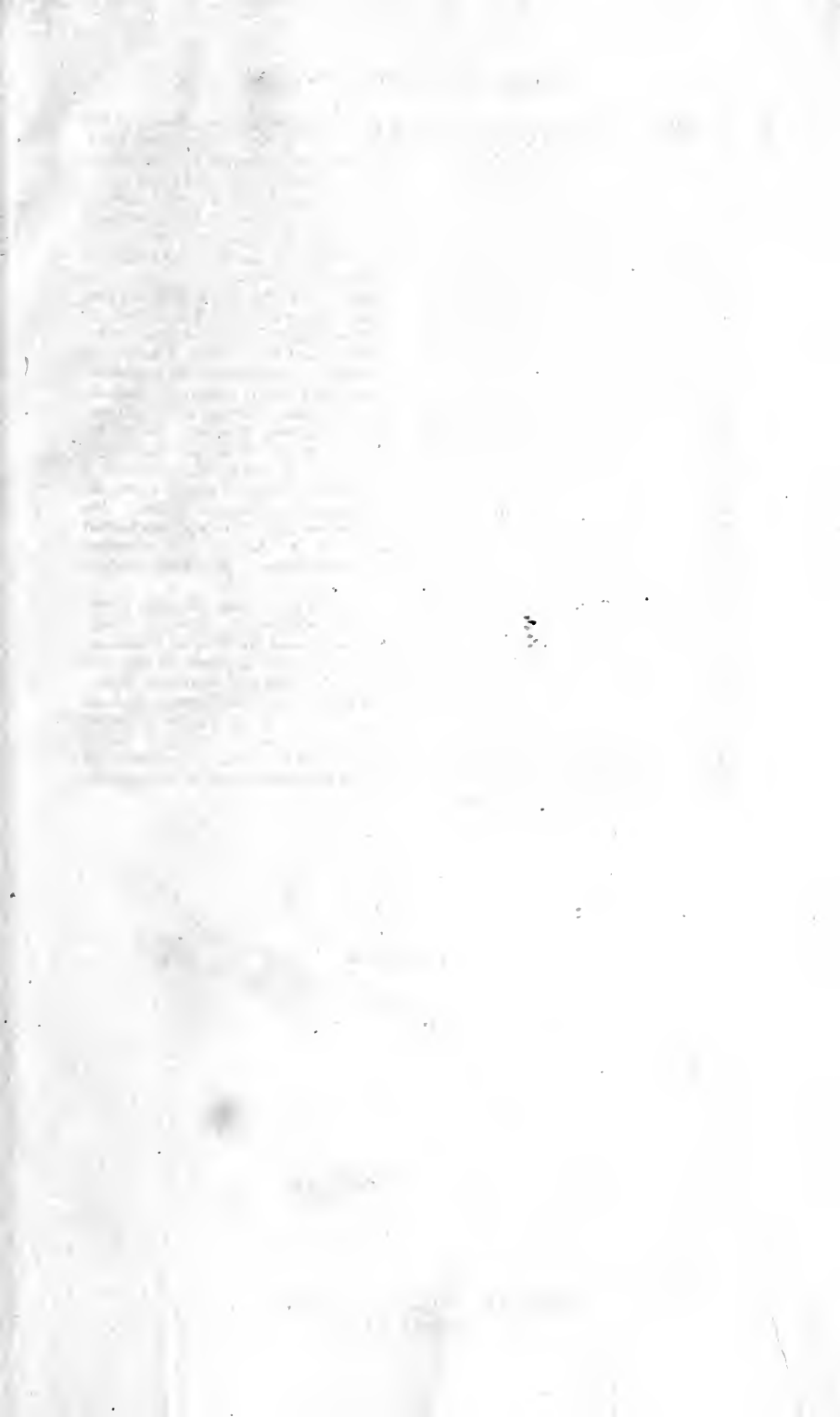
Mr. Willis, who had a house in that village, was nominated Lieut.-Col. of the Kensington volunteers at the commencement of the war with France; he afterwards superintended the household of the late Princess Charlotte, and on her marriage, became Privy Purse. This gentleman, who was one of the founders of the Alfred, an Association where play is unknown, published a description of Knole Park, in Kent, the residence of the Dukes of Dorset. He left a widow and three children behind him, and his only son, is Chaplain General in India. Mr. Willis died in 1819.

WISHART, Lady Theresa Cochran, at Edinburgh, Sept. 4, 1819. She was wife of Sir Thomas Cochran, Knt. K.B. and daughter of the late Sir Charles Ross of Balnagown, Bart.

WOLSELEY, Sir Robert, Bart. at Paris, Sept. 2, 1819. He was a man of an ancient family, originally called Wolf-slay, from having encountered and killed a ferocious animal of that species.

THE END.

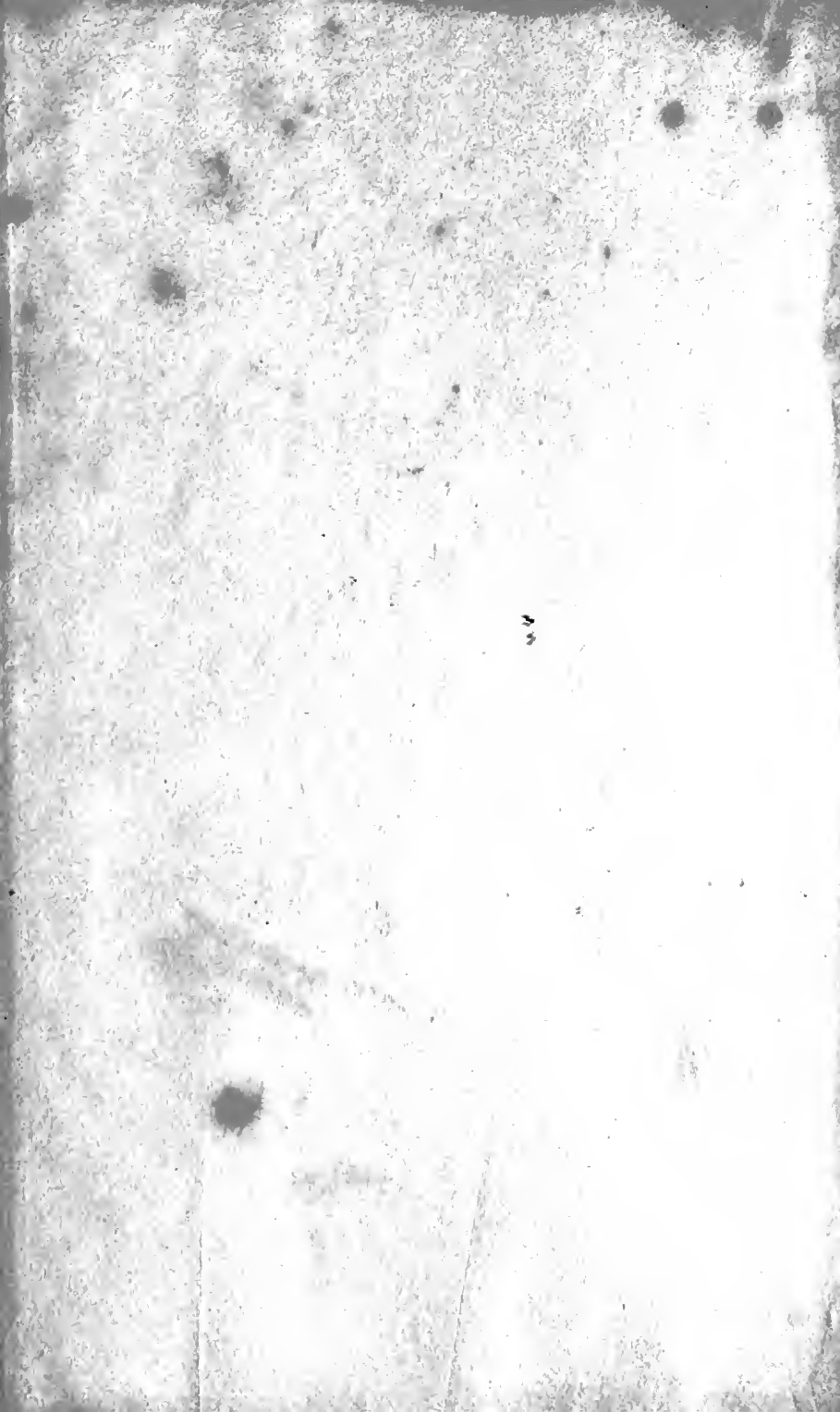
















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